

after a period, a season of rejuvenation ; the earth becomes again full of life and activity—the primitive mind says : “the god is born again.” Once this idea has been evolved, the men who entertain it are not slow to institute *rites of desolation* with which they mourn the death of the god, and *carnivals* whereby they celebrate his re-birth. Whereas the *Deus Coelestis*, in those phases in which he corresponded to the Greek *Zeὺς ὑέτιος*, Ζ. ἱκμαῖος, κτλ., was a god eternal, universal, and unchanging, yet as the *deus frugum*, the *ovium dives*, and the god of the husbandman’s year, he could temporarily die. Hence this god, together with Gurzil, the sun-god, is to be credited with having had some share in those carnivals and rites of desolation, traces of which are yet clearly discernible in so many parts of North Africa.¹ Some of these survivals offer striking points of analogy to the carnivals of Southern Europe. The rites of rejuvenation have on the whole survived better than the rites of desolation, man naturally preserving longer his memories of pleasure than his recollections of pain. The ceremonial garlic-eating at Sîwah, however, which is practised annually during one week in October, may have had its origin in a mourning-feast for the temporary death of the *Deus Coelestis*.

DEA COELESTIS

The god just discussed appears to have had a partner of much the same nature as himself. Her existence may be inferred from a fragment in Duris Samius, who says that the *tibia* were of Libyan origin, and that they first were used in honour of the Mother of the Gods.² In the Roman period this goddess, who appears in Carthaginian times to have been confused with Tanit, appears under the title of *Dea Nutrix*,³ and as such is not infrequently associated with the *Deus Coelestis*.⁴ It would appear that it was this goddess, in her Punicized form, whom Apuleius characterized as *rerum naturae parens, elementorum omnium domina*.⁵

THE AUSEAN GODDESS

The Auseans, in the district about Lake Tritonis, worshipped a goddess whom Herodotus and others speak of as “Athena.” The Auseans had a sanctuary to this divinity,⁶ and her cultus is thus described by Herodotus :

The Ausean maidens keep year by year a feast in honour of Athena, whereat their custom is to draw up in two bodies, and to fight with stones and clubs. They say that these are rites which have come down to them from their fathers, and that they honour with them their native goddess,

¹ E. Doutté, *op. cit.* pp. 496 *sqq.*, 541 *sqq.*

² Duris Samius, *Frag.* 34 in *FHG.* = Athenaeus, *Deipn.* xiv. p. 628 B.

³ *CIL*, viii. 2664 = R. Cagnat, *Catal. du Musée de Lambèse*, pl. iii. fig. 2. Cf. *CIL*, viii. 8245 *sqq.* etc.

⁴ Dessau, *Inscript.* 4473 (?) ; *CIL*, viii. *Suppl.* 20,217, 20,592 ; *CIL*, viii. 264, 8245 *sqq.* ; Dessau 4473 ; *CIL*, iii. 314.

⁵ Apuleius, *Metamorph.* xi. p. 761, ed. Oudendorp ; cf. S. Ambrosius, *Contra Symmachum*. Cf. J. Toutain, *op. cit.* pp. 50 *sq.*, where she is characterized as *fecundae et genetricis naturae numen*.

⁶ Scylax § 110, Ἀθηναῖς Τριτωνίδος ἱερὸν.

who is the same as the Athena of the Greeks. If any of the maidens die of the wounds they receive, the Auseans declare that such are false maidens. Before the fight is suffered to begin, they have another ceremony. One of the virgins, the loveliest of the number, is selected from the rest; a Corinthian helmet and a complete suit of Greek armour are publicly put upon her, and, thus adorned, she is made to mount into a chariot, and is led around the whole lake in a procession. The Auseans declare that Athena is the daughter of Poseidon and Tritonis; they say she quarrelled with her father, and applied to Zeus, who consented to accept her as his child, and therefore she became his daughter.¹

Before commenting on this passage, it may be noted by the way that part of the Syrtes, because of this identification of the native and the Greek goddesses, was regarded by classical writers as peculiarly sacred to Triton and to Pallas. Callimachus, for example, calls Lake Tritonis "Pallantias."²

The statements of Herodotus may now be considered in detail.

1. *The Legend*.—From the fact that the goddess is said to have been born of "Poseidon" and "Tritonis," it might be inferred that she was a sea-deity; but this is not borne out by her association with "Zeus." The explanation, in so far as there is one, would seem to be merely that "Athena" was a goddess of ill-defined dominion, whom it was equally rational to associate with sky-ruler or sea-ruler.

2. *The Annual Feast*.—The annual feast of the goddess suggests that, like the *Deus Coelestis*, she had some association with the seasons. The ceremony, moreover, was one of great importance.³

3. *The Ceremonial Arming*.—The selection of the most comely of the virgins of the tribe, and her arming in Greek (*i.e.* the best) war-harness is significant. The maiden, armed and mounted in her car, represented, on the occasion of the festival, the goddess in whose honour the ceremony was performed, and who must, it is clear, have had a warlike aspect.

4. *The Procession*.—The goddess, in the person of the armed maiden, accompanied by the other celebrants, made a circuit of the lake. This procession suggests some form of *lustratio*, whereby the beneficent influences of "Athena" were invoked upon the lands of the tribe. Such a procession is roughly paralleled in the ritual of the Arval Brethren, whose circuit was made with a view to obtaining the protection, chiefly, of the *Dea Dia*. The circuitous procession ending in a sacrifice was not, in fact, uncommon: in this instance, the conclusion was not a sacrifice, but a ceremonial combat.

5. *The Combat*.—It is the ceremonial sham-fight with which the annual festival concluded that shows most clearly the character of the goddess. One first notes that none but maidens engaged in it, and that those who were accidentally slain were supposed to be *punished* because they were not true maids. This points to the goddess having had a strong virginal aspect. The significance of the combat is not hard to

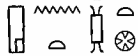
¹ Herodotus iv. 180; cf. Mela i. 7, who adds nothing to this account, except that the annual festival was celebrated on the birthday of the goddess. Cf. R. Neumann, *Afrika . . . nach Herodot*, p. 28 sq. and C. Tissot, *De Tritonide lacu, passim*, for the geographical setting.

² Callimachus *ap.* Pliny v. 4; cf. Lucan, *Phars.* ix. 348 sqq. etc.

³ Cf. Herodotus iv. 189.

divine—it was a rain-ceremony in which was acted the strife between drought and rain. The frequency of these drought-and-rain conflicts among primitive peoples,¹ and their survival in North Africa at the present time, lead to the conclusion that the procession of the Ausean goddess was designed to ward off evil and induce blessings on the tribal lands, and the domestic combat with which the ceremony ended was meant to ensure a good rainfall during the ensuing year.

This begets the strong suspicion that the Ausean “Athena” was but a localized phase of the *Dea Coelestis*, the *pollicitatrix pluviarum*, who has already been mentioned as a partner of the Libyan sky-god. From this point of view a very vexed and difficult question may be approached, namely, that of the possible connection of this rain-sender of the Auseans, and the *Dea Coelestis* of the Libyans in general, with a goddess of the western Egyptian Delta. This goddess is Neith of Sais, who has by various modern writers been related to the Ausean “Athena.”²

Neith³ was a goddess established in Egypt from archaic times, her name appearing in a royal name, *Meri-Nit*, of the proto-dynastic period.⁴ Her chief place of worship was Sais, the sacred name of which city was , *h-t-nt*, “the Dwelling of Neith,”⁵ and where she had an immense temple.⁶ Her functions we learn from various sources. On a naophorous statue now in the Vatican she is described as “the mother of the sun, who began to bring forth even before being born.”⁷ Plutarch says that the shrine of the goddess bore an inscription which he thus translates :

Ἐγὼ εἶμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὃν καὶ ἐσόμενον, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν.⁸

I am all that has been, is, or shall be ; no mortal has ever uplifted my garment.

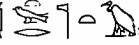
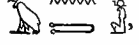
This is confirmed by Proclus :

Αἰγύπτιοι ἱστοροῦσι, ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ τῆς θεοῦ, προγεγραμμένον εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο· τὰ ὄντα καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα, καὶ τὰ γεγονότα, ἐγὼ εἶμι. Τὸν ἐμὸν χιτῶνα οὐδεὶς ἀπεκάλυψεν· ὃν ἐγὼ καρπὸν ἔτεκον, ἥλιος ἐγένετο.⁹

The Egyptians relate that in the inner sanctuary of the goddess this inscription is to be read on the doorway : I am that which is, which shall be, and which has been. None ever uplifted my garment. The fruit which I brought forth was the sun.

¹ Might not the institution of a ceremonial combat of this sort account for the high percentage of fractured fore-arms among the Predynastic Egyptian women ? Such an explanation would be at least as probable as that the men so maltreated the women that the arms of the latter were frequently broken. Primitive man does not to this extent mishandle either his women or his other domestic animals.

² On this H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alt. Ägypt.* p. 342 sqq. ; A. Wiedemann, *Religion der alt. Ägypt.* p. 77 ; G. Jequier, in *RT*, xxx., 1908, p. 43 ; D. Mallet, *Le Culte de Neit à Sais*, p. 240.

³  *n-t* ;  *n-t wr ntr-t mw-t*, “Neith the Great One, the divine mother” ;  *mw-t nt r'*

“Neith, Mother of the Sun,” etc. ; D. Mallet, *op. cit.* p. 94. One of the oldest of her symbols is , two crossed arrows on a staff. (The heads of the arrows are not pointed, but have the broad concave cutting-edge, such as is seen in pl. viii. 32.)

⁴ C. Sourdille, *op. cit.* p. 180, n. 2.

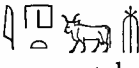
⁶ D. Mallet, *op. cit.* p. 33 sqq. ; cf. p. 71 sqq.

⁵ J. de Rougé, *Géographie ancienne de la Basse Égypte*, p. 25.

⁷ H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, p. 637 i. 8.

⁸ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, § 10 (p. 354, Xyland.).

⁹ Proclus, *In Timaeum*, i. 30.

From this it appears that in Neith one is confronted with a great nature-mother of virginal aspect. This virginal aspect led the Greeks to identify her as Athena,¹ but the emphasis laid upon her character as a *genetrix* shows clearly that her primitive rôle must have been one comparable to those of the Mater Deum, Ops Regina, etc. Among other titles, Neith was called  *mḥ-wr-t*, "the cow Mehurt," and  *i h-t mṣ r*, "the cow which bears the sun."² These titles belonged to her as most broadly conceived, *i.e.* as a sky-goddess.

The chief points of similarity between Neith and the Ausean goddess, both of whom Herodotus calls "Athena," may be thus exhibited :—

SAITIC "ATHENA"

1. Sky-goddess.
2. Virgin-mother.
3. Goddess of vegetation.
4. Warlike phase, as shown by her nome-symbols :  and .
5. Cow-form.

AUSEAN "ATHENA"

1. Sky-goddess.
2. Strong virginal aspect.
3. Rain-sender.
4. Represented at her festival as an armed maiden. Ceremonial sham-fight.
5. Cow-taboo in Eastern Libya. Cows still sacrificed for rain in North Africa.³

These similarities are such that one cannot avoid feeling that, were more material available, they would in all probability be increased in number. They prepare one also for a curious piece of evidence first adduced by H. Brugsch, which was the original cause of the suspicion that the Ausean and Saitic "Athenas" might be local phases of the same goddess. The evidence in question is that afforded by certain tattoo marks seen on Egyptian representations of Libyan captives. Some of these marks are of more than merely ornamental significance, like the sun-emblems already mentioned. Others, as has been said earlier in this monograph, are either identical with, or vary only insignificantly from, the commonest hieroglyphic sign for the Saitic goddess,  (early) or  (New Empire, late form ). These signs have, as tattoo marks, undoubtedly some special meaning : they are not Egyptian brandings, moreover, since they only occur on the Libyan captives, and not on the Asiatics, etc.⁴

A writer who has recently discussed this question has formulated the theory that Neith was originally a goddess of Libyans living in pre-historic Egypt, who with them was forced out of an original position in the south to become firmly established in the north-west.⁵ As presented by its propounder, this theory is ingeniously supported ; it lacks, however, archaeological evidence, and not yet has a period arrived where any question of early ethnic shiftings in the Nile Valley can be considered as per-

¹ Herodotus ii. 28, 59, 83, 169, 170, 175 ; Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 474 ; Hesychius *in verb.* Νηϊθύη ; Eratosthenes in *Catalog. Regum Aegypti*. xxii., explains the name Νιτωρκίς as = Ἀθηνᾶ νικηφόρος, etc. ; cf. Apollodorus, *Frag.* 70 in *FHG* ; cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, *in verb.* Nit.

² D. Mallet, *op. cit.* p. 94.

³ L. Bertholon, *op. cit.* p. 15. But, as I have said, the cow-taboo was not universal in Eastern Libya ; the inhabitants of Maraea and Apis protested against being made by the Egyptians to observe it. Herodotus ii. 18.

⁴ These details have been discussed, *supra* p. 139 *sqq.*

⁵ G. Jéquier, *op. cit.* p. 43.

fectly safe ground.¹ But from the parallel instituted above between the Libyan and the Egyptian goddesses, from this occurrence of the Neith-symbol as a Libyan tattoo mark, and from the geographical position of Sais, it seems that some connection between the two divinities is highly probable.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF LIBYAN RELIGION

If the preceding fragments in regard to the religion of the Eastern Libyans are considered from the point of view of the student of the temper and culture of this people, a few general facts are deducible from them. Briefly, here is seen the religion of a people who, while they had attained to anthropomorphic conceptions of deity, yet held tenaciously to a host of animistic ideas. The religion of the Libyans seems to have been only partially iconic, to have presented many local variations and peculiarities, yet to have been dominated by a few simple and not ignoble ideas which were common to most of the North Africans. Thus, to the prevalent superstitions which regarded seriously various sorts of art-magic and sorcery, was joined the cultus of a number of fairly well-defined gods,² and of a few broadly conceived divinities like the *Deus Coelestis*. A belief in the future life also, was deeply ingrained in the people.

In character it does not appear to have had an unusual number of gloomy features, as is so often the case with African religions; on the contrary, it seems, so far as can be judged, to have been the creation of a race inclined to take a fairly cheerful view both of this life and the next. Naturally, there is no evidence that it contained any but the simplest doctrines, and, in short, it may be best defined as a barbaric religion, half developed from the direct animistic nature-worship of savagery.

If parallels to the religion of the Libyans as it is known be looked for, it is in Egypt that the most striking analogies are to be found. There, for example, the sun was associated, as in Libya, with the bull; there the belief in the after-life of the dead is strongly developed; there, as in North Africa, the ram figures prominently as a sacred animal; and in Neith of Sais has just been remarked a goddess having striking resemblances to a Libyan one. It does not do to build too much on these likenesses, but certainly there seems to have been between the religion of the ancient Egyptians and that of the Libyans a connection closer than existed between that of the latter and that, for example, of the Semites. Just as knit into the Egyptian language is a definite Libyan element, so, too, in all probability exist in Egyptian religion various elements of Libyan origin. These, however, cannot yet be discerned, on account of lack of knowledge in regard to the ancient Libyans.

¹ It is not evidence on this question of Neith and the Ausean goddess that Amasis sent as a gift to Cyrene a statue of Neith (Herodotus ii. 182), for Amasis was especially under the protection of Neith, being called , *iḥ-mꜣt-ꜣꜣ-nt*, and Sais was his capital. As for the question of Neith and Tanit, I will only say that I disagree wholly on this subject with L. Bertholon, *op. cit.* p. 8, and *pass.*

² Procopius, *De aedificiis*, vi. 2; cf. Schol. in Apollon. Rhod. iv. 1492, *Cod. Paris.* = Agroetas, *Frag.* 4 in *FHG*, *εὐσεβείας δὲ οἱ Γαράμαντες, καὶ ναοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἱδρυνται, ὡς ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀγροίτας ἱστορεῖ.*

In conclusion, the reader is again warned, as at the beginning of this chapter, that a number of the views set forth above are too new to have had the advantage of criticism, and that it is only by the excavation of indigenous sites in North Africa that one can hope eventually to arrive at a more definite knowledge of the subject.

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

A few words on Judaism and on Christianity in Eastern Libya may here be added by way of supplement.

In regard to the former, Jewish communities seem to have existed in Eastern Libya from comparatively early times. Thus, a very serious rebellion of the Jews in Cyrenaica took place in 115 A.D., and near Borium, in the Syrtis Major, was a synagogue, the building of which local Hebrew tradition ascribed to Solomon!¹ It is a well-known fact that the Berbers get on well with the Jews, and that many have adopted Judaism.² This explains how, in the rebellion of 115 A.D., such a large number of insurgents came to be involved; it is almost certain that the war, like its pretext, was religious rather than racial.

Christianity entered North Africa at an early date, and the Christian population, to judge by the archaeological evidence alone, was large and spread over a considerable area.³ Although pagans existed in the days of Justinian, who "converted" them,⁴ in the time of the Arab invasions there were a number of Christianized Berber tribes.⁵ It is curious to observe that the Berbers, who are such notoriously heretical Moḥammadans to-day, produced when Christians the heresiarch Arius, and in the western parts of Eastern Libya, under the name of Donatists, committed a thousand savage extravagances.

There is one point which may be mentioned in this connection, since several writers have been slightly in error concerning it. The cross is an element of common occurrence in modern Berber ornamentation, and since the names of some months have in many dialects preserved their Latin forms, and as the word for "angel" exists only slightly modified in Berber, some writers have supposed that the cross⁶ in modern Berber tattooing, etc., is a relic of Libyan Christianity. This is an unnecessary supposition, since a shield which, from the size of the cross on it, might have been

¹ Procopius, *loc. cit.* There are a number of Jewish families to-day in Benghazi which claim to have been settled in the country since Roman times. The presence of Jews in the Syrtica Regio in Roman times is attested by the existence of a station called *Scina* [= *Χάραξ* "Ἰερικὴ"] *locus Iudaeorum Augusti* (*Tab. Peut. Segm. viii.*), the *اليهودية*, *El-Yahudiah*, of Idrisi, *Clim.* iii. § 5.

² Cf. H. Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen*, vol. i. p. 53 sq. In the *Jerusalem Talmud*, *Kilaim* viii. and *Sabbath* v., one finds a wire-drawn academic discussion in regard to Libyan proselytes, the question being how long a Libyan family need profess Judaism before being accepted as Jews. The conclusion reached is that the Libyans stand in the same relation to the Jews as do the Egyptians, and that three generations of profession must therefore precede their being received into the fold.

³ Cf. *ibid.* vol. i. p. 117, the ruined basilica at Shabet Umm el-Ḥarab.

⁴ Procopius, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Cf. Johannes Abbas, *Chronic.* p. 13; Abu 'l Ḥasan, *Annales regum Mauret.*, ed. Tornberg, pp. 7, 15, 83 (for the west); El-Bekri, *Description in Notices et Extraits*, vol. xii. p. 484; Ibn Ḥaldun, *Kitab el 'Ibar*, Transl. de Slane, vol. i. p. 209 *et alibi*.

⁶ For an example, cf. H. Barth, *op. cit.* vol. i. 208, cross on a Targi shield.

a crusader's, exists on a prehistoric rock glyph in Tibesti ;¹ and as the cross is also seen as an ornament in the ancient Egyptian representations of Libyans.² Its true origin in North Africa may be referred to the cruciform solar symbols already noticed in this chapter.³ Christianity, indeed, seems not to have been firmly enough rooted, even in littoral Libya, to have left any deep or lasting survivals. There are no notices of the persistence, in Eastern Libya, of a Christian element that was strong enough, as in Egypt, to withstand the overpowering influence of Moḥammadanism.⁴

¹ G. Nachtigal, *Sāḥārā und Sudan*, vol. i. p. 308.

² Vide *supra*, p. 148.

³ Cf. the table of solar emblems in J. Déchelette, *Le Culte du soleil aux temps préhistoriques*.

⁴ S. A. Morcelli, *Africa Christiana*. The reader is referred to this work for a good general account of African Christianity, written from the Roman Catholic point of view, and based almost exclusively on the literary evidence.

CHAPTER IX

HISTORY¹

THE history of the Eastern Libyans hardly deserves to be dignified by that name, since practically only records of their conflicts with more civilized peoples, made by hostile annalists, survive. Yet in order to understand the life and character of the ancient Berbers, and because of their contact with the important peoples of the Mediterranean, these records are worthy of more study than they have yet received. The history of the Eastern Libyans divides itself into two periods, both because of the two main channels through which our knowledge flows, and because of the different character of their history in earlier and in later times. The first of these periods may be termed the Egyptian period, the second the Graeco-Roman. The first is the epoch extending from the earliest historic times down through the period of the great invasions of Egypt, a period at the close of which the Libyans are dimly discerned in a state of flux, aggressive and unsettled. Our knowledge of this portion of their history is derived almost wholly from Egyptian sources. The second epoch is one of ethnic quiescence, relieved only by the unsuccessful revolts made against foreign dominion in Africa,—an epoch in which the descendants of the invaders are seen as an aggregation of factious and disunited tribes, at various points dispossessed of their territories, and remaining in a state of barbarism—almost of savagery—beyond which the other Mediterranean peoples had advanced. The sources for this period are almost all Greek and Roman. In time, Period I. may be taken as extending from proto-dynastic times to about 1000 B.C., while Period II. may be extended from about 1000 B.C. to the Arab conquest in the seventh century A.D. The date 1000 B.C. is, of course, arbitrary, and must be recognized as such throughout this chapter.

PERIOD I

The first act historically ascribed to the Eastern Libyans is,² characteristically, one of combined revolt and superstition. Libyans in Egypt at the beginning of the

¹ The substance of this chapter I have already published in *CSJ*, vol. vi. No. 71 (August 1912).

² J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 47, states that King Narmar, at the beginning of the Dynastic Period, put down a Libyan rebellion in the Delta, taking 120,000 captives, 400,000 cattle, etc. This statement was made on the archaico-

IIIrd Dynasty are reported by Manetho to have rebelled against King Nefer-ka-ra (Nepherocheres), but to have laid down their arms on account of a portentous increase in the size of the moon.¹ The whole episode is quite possibly fictitious, but it is on the other hand conceivable that Manetho has here used an old annalist as his source. It is not, at all events, long after the IIIrd Dynasty that one learns certainly of conflicts between Libya and Egypt, and of friction between the Libyans and the Negroes of the south.

The former are signalized as early as the Vth Dynasty by the reliefs in the Pyramid temples of Ne-user-re² and of Sa-hu-re³ at Abusîr. From these reliefs it is clear that both kings had Libyan victories, and from the position in which the sculptures in the Sa-hu-re temple were placed, it is also apparent that the Libyans defeated by the king dwelt to the south of Memphis, probably in the Fayum. It is worthy of remark that at this early period the Libyan chieftains seem supplied with neatly made personal ornaments as well as, or even better than, at any later period.

In the VIth Dynasty a state of war existed between the Temehû Libyans and the Negroes of Yam in the south. A trader-noble of Elephantine, in the time of Pepi II., made four journeys to the Sudan. On the third, as he tells in a record inscribed on his tomb, he encountered a Negro tribe on the march against the Temehû. "His Majesty," Harkhuf says in his narrative, "now sent me a third time to Yam. I set forth . . . upon the Uhet road, and I found the chief of Yam going to the land of Temeh, to smite Temeh as far as the western corners of heaven. I went forth after him to the land of Temeh, and I pacified him, until he praised all the gods for the king's sake."⁴ That the district of Temeh which was to be attacked by the people of Yam was in all likelihood the Libyan bank of the Nile in Nubia has already been pointed out. The incident gives some insight into the state of constant raids and petty wars always flickering along the borders of the Libyan area. It testifies also to the prestige of the Egyptian VIth Dynasty that Harkhuf could travel in safety with a tribe of Negro raiders and pacify the chief of Yam.

This prestige arose partly from the fact that for some time before this the Egyptians had recruited soldiers among the barbarians beyond the First Cataract. In the reign of Pepi I., for example, an officer named Uni got together a number of soldiers in the south, to engage in a campaign with "Asiatic sand-dwellers" (Bedawî) in the north. Besides other recruits, the Negroes of Yam are mentioned, as are also the people of Temeh.⁵

In the XIth Dynasty there again were wars between Libya and Egypt. The

logical evidence of the Narmer palette, great mace-heads, ivories, etc., from Hierakonpolis. *Vide* J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, pt. i. pl. xi., lower register; xii. fig. 4; xv. figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7; xxv., lower register; xxvi. A, top and middle registers; xxvi. B; xxix., etc. I regret to differ from an authority so great as Breasted, but I cannot see how the people over whom Narmer triumphed can be shown to be Libyans. To me they appear to have been Egyptians of the Delta.

¹ Manetho, pp. 22-23.

² L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re*, p. 47.

³ Idem, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ahu-Re*, vol. i., *Der Bau*, p. 17 sq.

⁴ BAR i. § 335.

⁵ BAR i. § 311.

first king of the Dynasty, Intef I., had among his hunting-dogs at least one bearing a Libyan name,¹ and that this dog may have been sent to the king as tribute seems easily possible. In the reign of his successor, Mentuhotep I., the Rebu and Tehenu were defeated by the Egyptians, the victory being commemorated with others in Gebeley reliefs.² It is not to be supposed that these "wars" were general, or that large forces were engaged. That they were rather in the nature of raids, counter-raids, and petty revolts of the Libyans settled along the Nile seems clear from the summary manner in which they are mentioned by the Egyptian annalists.

Just such a raid is mentioned in the opening of the *Tale of Sinuhe*. The heir to the Egyptian throne, Usertesen (I.), had been sent to the westward by his father, Amenemhat I., to raid the Rebu. Sinuhe says :—

Behold, his majesty had sent out
A numerous army against the Libyans ;
The eldest son was commander thereof,
The Good God Usertsen.
Now, just as he was returning, having taken
Living captives from the Libyans
And all cattle, without limit, etc.³

That this expedition was not merely a literary fiction seems certain from the soberness and detail of the narrative, and from the fact that apparently even until Greek times an echo of it survived. Diodorus relates that as a young man, the prince Usertesen (Sesostris) was sent into Arabia, and then subdued a great part of Libya.⁴ It is perhaps in memory of his Libyan victories that the exquisite pectoral of Usertesen I. in the Cairo Museum shows the king as a gryphon trampling the Southerners and the Libyans.

In the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Usertesen, the Libyans had become so impressed with the power of Egypt that it was possible for an officer named Itendidi to visit "the land of the oasis-dwellers"⁵ with a company of picked soldiers. The object of his mission is not clear, but since it was both military and peaceful, it may have had as its object merely the further display of Egyptian power. It is notable in the vague notices of these early campaigns that it is the Egyptians, and not, as later, the Libyans who appear to have been on the aggressive. The Libyans seem to have felt a wholesome respect for the power of Egypt all through the XIIth Dynasty. In the time of Usertesen III., an officer of the king brought "for him the good products of Tehenu by the greatness of his majesty's fame."⁶

Throughout the XVIIIth Dynasty the Libyans were apparently in continuous conflict with the Egyptians. An official of Amenhotep I. mentions that in the king's

¹ BAR i. § 421.

² BAR i. § 423 H, and notes *ad loc. cit.*

³ BAR i. § 492. The tale goes on to say that on his return, Usertesen was met with the news of his father's death.

⁴ Diodorus Siculus i. 53.

⁵ BAR i. § 527.

⁶ BAR i. § 675.

service he captured for him "three hands" of Imukehek "on the north."¹ Thutmose I. records his victory over the Eḳbet;² and in a hymn of triumph Amon-Re addresses his successor, Thutmose III., saying :—

I have come, causing thee to smite the Teḥenu.³

Libyan chiefs brought to this king "tribute from the southern and the northern oases,"⁴ and Hatshepsut, his powerful consort, received divine assurance that she should "strike among the Teḥenu."⁵ Perhaps this prophecy was not recorded until after its fulfilment; at least we know that the Queen levied from the Teḥenu a heavy tribute, which consisted of "ivory and seven hundred tusks," and numerous large skins "of the southern panther."⁶ In short, so high was the prestige of Egypt in the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. that Nehi, the viceroy of Kush, thus commemorated the Egyptian power in the twenty-third year of the king :—

The countries of Teḥenu do obeisance because of the fame of his majesty, with their tribute upon their backs (*hiatus*) . . . as do the dogs, that there might be given to them the breath of life.⁷

In the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty, Amenhotep III. conducted a successful war against the Teḥenu, the captives being set to work on an Egyptian fortress.⁸ The Libyans within reach of Egypt had seemingly been overawed and reduced to a state of partial subjection to the warlike kings of the early New Empire.

The desultory fighting did not, however, cease with the advent of the XIXth Dynasty. On the contrary, the ethnic pressure from the west, which was presently to culminate in the great invasions, steadily increased. The continuous infiltration of the Libyans into the Egyptian Delta assumed proportions so menacing⁹ that, in the second (?) year of the reign of Seti I. that king foresaw that Egypt was likely to be seriously threatened from the west. Before, therefore, setting forth upon his Syrian campaign, he first engaged the Libyans.¹⁰ That the outcome of this brief war was successful we know from the annals of the king, but we are ignorant of its details. During nearly the whole of the second year of his reign, Seti I. seems to have been in the Delta,¹¹ and he apparently fought at least two pitched battles with the Libyans,¹² commanding in person in both engagements (cf. Plates IV. and IX.). In the end, there came before the Pharaoh the people of "the land of Teḥenu on its knees,"¹³ numerous captives were presented to Amon,¹⁴ and the usual "tribute" was obtained from the enemy.¹⁵ Had Seti I., a really able and warlike monarch, followed up his victory and carried the

¹ BAR ii. § 42.

² BAR ii. § 70.

³ BAR ii. § 660.

⁴ BAR ii. §§ 385, 386. The tribute probably contained ivory and ebony. Cf. BAR ii. § 387.

⁵ BAR ii. § 225.

⁶ BAR ii. § 321.

⁷ BAR ii. § 413.

⁸ BAR ii. § 892 and note *c*, *ad loc. cit.*

⁹ BAR iii. § 121.

¹⁰ Cf. BAR iii. § 135.

¹¹ BAR iii. § 120.

¹² Two general engagements are depicted in the Karnak reliefs of Seti I. *Vide* BAR iii. p. 39, figs. 1, 2, scenes 12 and

¹³ for relative position of reliefs.

¹⁴ BAR iii. § 147.

¹⁵ BAR iii. §§ 134, 135, etc.

¹⁵ BAR iii. §§ 137, 138.

Egyptian arms to the westward, instead of turning them to the east, the succeeding course of Libyan and of Egyptian history might have been altered. For had the Libyans, at a time when they had become sensible of a pressure from the west, met in the east with aggression and a crushing defeat instead of with a temporary check, they might in desperation have turned back to the west, might never have come to invade Egypt by force of arms, and might never, as eventually they did by more peaceful methods, have obtained the Egyptian throne. As it was, Seti I. turned to the east, and



FIG. 88.

there fought victoriously. The Libyans, recovering from the check they had received at his hands, were soon able to give trouble to his son and successor, Rameses II. Here again details are lacking, but the record gives various references to the disturbances in the west.¹ Pharaoh is characterized as wasting Tehenu.¹ Libya falls before his sword.² At Beyt el-Waly, the king is shown slaying a Libyan chieftain (Fig. 88), the title of the scene calling the king "lord of the sword, embracing the lands of Tehenu,"³ while at Abu Simbel Rameses II. is seen standing on the prostrate body of one Libyan and slaying another with his lance—"the Good God slaying the Nine Bows, crushing the countries of the North."⁴

The most important detail in regard to these obscure wars of Rameses II., however, is that here, for the first time, the Sherden, who were so deeply implicated in the Libyan invasions as allies of the Tehenu, appear in conjunction with

them. In the Tanis Stela, the following mutilated but important passage occurs:—

He [the king] has captured the countries of the West, causing them to be as that which is not . . . [the god] Sutekh on his right, in the battle, King Rameses II. He has ferried over . . . come to him, bearing their tribute; his fear penetrates their hearts. The rebellious-hearted Sherden . . . them; mighty . . . ships of war are in the midst of the sea . . . before them.⁵

This reference to the rebellious Sherden, allies of Libya, and to the war-ships, would indicate a naval battle in connection with the war.⁶ The presence of the Sherden allies and their capture are confirmed by another document, the so-called Kadesh Poem, which refers to the Sherden whom "thou [*scil.* the king] hast taken by

¹ BAR iii. § 448.² BAR iii. § 448 and note *b*, *ad loc. cit.*³ BAR iii. § 464.⁴ BAR iii. § 457.⁵ BAR iii. § 491. For the first mention of the Sherden in Egyptian documents, cf. BAR iii. p. 136 note *e*, and J. H. Breasted, *History*, p. 424.⁶ BAR iii. § 488.

PLATE IX.



LIBYAN CAPTIVES OF SETI I.

thy might.”¹ To the presence of the sea-allies of the Libyans may also be related a sentence in the Aṣwan stela of Rameses II., which says of him that “he plunders the warriors of the sea, the great lake of the north, while they lie sleeping.”²

In the end, some of the Sherden of “the captivity of his majesty from the victories of his sword,”³ were enlisted in the army; while he “settled the Teḥenu on the heights, filling strongholds which he built with the captivity of his mighty sword.”⁴ Yet despite his successes, Rameses II. repeated the mistake of Seti I. his father. The Libyans had before his day been recognized as dangerous neighbours when by themselves; in the time of Rameses II. they should, to a general and a statesman of his sagacity, have seemed the more menacing because of their alliance with the sea-faring Sherden, and they should have been not merely repulsed, but themselves vigorously invaded. Probably the Egyptian king, finding the Sherden ready for mercenary service, calculated that to Sherden allies of Libya, led by hope of plunder, he could always oppose Sherden mercenaries of his own, certain of their pay and incited by the hope of rewards. His interests, moreover, lay largely in Syria, where the political balance could not be disturbed without seriously affecting Egypt.

The Libyan wars of Rameses II. may be justly considered as the prelude to the great invasions which followed. The chronology of the campaigns is somewhat obscure. Petrie is probably right in assigning a Libyan campaign to the first year of the king's reign,⁵ the Aṣwan stela above cited being dated in the king's second year. Later in his reign, also, Rameses II. again engaged the Libyans.⁶ It is to be remembered, moreover, that this sovereign regularly had Libyan and Sherden soldiers in his army, 4000 such being in a force despatched to the Wady Hammamat.⁷

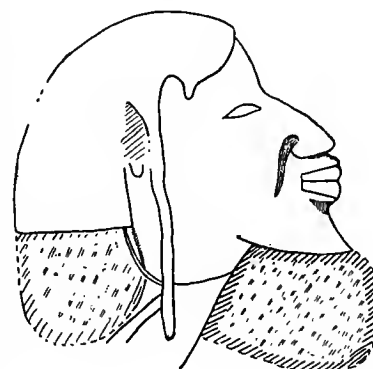


FIG. 89.

The most remarkable series of events in the whole history of the Libyan race must now be considered — the great invasions of Egypt in the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. The causes of these campaigns will be discussed later; at present they will be related in the order in which they occurred, from the Merneptah invasion, which has been characterized by Breasted as “one of the most serious . . . which has ever threatened Egypt.”⁸ This invasion took place late in March in the year five of the king's reign, when he was sixty-three years old. The Libyans had

¹ *Anastasi Papyrus* ii., v. l. 2. Cf. *ibid. verso* Pl. viii. l. 1 and BAR iii. § 307.

² BAR iii. § 479. The same inscription says that the Temēḥu have fallen for fear of the king. The name is spelled Ty-m-ḥ-nw, which leads Breasted to remark, note c, *ad loc. cit.*, that “it may be that Teḥenu is meant.” Cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, vol. iii. p. 46.

³ BAR iii. § 307.

⁴ BAR iii. § 457.

⁵ W. M. F. Petrie, *loc. cit.*

⁶ A curious proof of this exists in the Beyt el-Waly temple, where a Syrian prisoner of the king's earlier wars (for which J. H. Breasted, *History*, p. 423 *sqq.*) has been revamped, by the change of hair and beard, into a Libyan (*vide* Fig. 89). I have to thank Dr. G. Roeder of Breslau for calling my attention to this piece of evidence.

⁷ J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 449.

⁸ BAR iii. §§ 569, 570.

again become menacing. Part of Egypt had become, in the language of a contemporary record, "not cared for; it was forsaken as pasturage for cattle because of the Nine Bows, it was left from the times of the ancestors. All the kings of Upper Egypt rested in the midst of their cities . . . for lack of troops."¹ Libyan marauders "repeatedly penetrated the fields of Egypt to the great river, and spent whole days and months dwelling"² in Egypt, where they passed "their time going about the land . . . to seek the necessities of their mouths."³ The northern oasis and Farafrah—the district of Toyeh—had for some time been cut off from Egypt.⁴ This was the state of affairs when the tribesmen of the west formed a powerful coalition against Egypt, and the aged Pharaoh prepared "to protect Heliopolis, city of Atum, to defend the stronghold of Ptah-Tatenen,"⁵ and "to protect the people."⁶

The origin of the federation had its place, not among the Tehenu, the immediate neighbours of Egypt, but among the Libyans farther west. The Rebu, under the command of Meryey, son of Ded, allied themselves with various bodies of Ekwesh, Teresh, Luka, Sherden, Shekelesh, and "Northerners coming from all lands."⁷ With these allies, the Rebu fell upon the Tehenu, who were probably, from remembrance of the rough handling they had had from Rameses II. and Seti I., disinclined to violent measures. They were not able, however, to stand against the allies, and were forced to join them. The good-will of the Heta (Hittites), then the most powerful rival of Egypt in the north, was secured,⁸ and at a time when forage was plentiful and the weather good, the allied forces began the march eastward. The coalition had been formed in the month of March,⁹ and in early April news came that the invasion had begun. The Libyan forces were probably marshalled somewhere in Cyrenaica; to oppose them, Merneptah ordered a general muster to be held on the 8th of April—"in . . . Meber, [an unknown locality] the choicest of his bowmen were mustered . . . his chariotry was brought up from every side. . . . He considered not hundreds of thousands in the day of the array. His infantry marched out, those who bear the hand-to-hand fighting arrived, beautiful in appearance, leading bowmen against every land."¹⁰ On the 15th of April the two armies drew near each other in the vicinity of Perire¹¹ in the

¹ BAR iii. § 577.

² BAR iii. § 580.

³ BAR *loc. cit.* Cf. the retrospect of Merneptah after his victory, BAR iii. § 585, "So this land of Egypt was in their power, in a state of weakness . . . so that their hand could not be repelled." Obviously an exaggeration, but indicative of the real state of affairs.

⁴ BAR iii. § 580.

⁵ BAR iii. § 576.

⁶ BAR iii. § 578.

⁷ BAR iii. §§ 574, 579. For the identification of these peoples *vide* H. R. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 171 *sqq.*; W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 371 and *passim*. It may be accepted that the Luka = the proto-Lycians; the Shekelesh = the Sicels; the Sherden = the people who, after occupying Sardinia, gave their name to that island. The Ter-esh and Ekw-esh have been repeatedly identified with the Tyrsi and Achaei. I do not accept all these identifications as conclusively proved, and would further wish to suggest the possibility that the Luka-Lycians, Sherden-Sardinians, and Shekel-Sicels may at the time of the XIXth Dynasty have occupied countries other than those they held in classical times.

⁸ BAR iii. §§ 570; 580, and note *b*, *ad loc. cit.*

⁹ Cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 108.

¹⁰ BAR iii. § 578.

¹¹ BAR iii. § 583; cf. § 570.

western Delta.¹ The Libyan vanguard halted, and for a whole day the straggling army of the invaders was massing for the attack.² From the numbers of the slain and the captives, it would seem that the invaders numbered from twenty to twenty-five thousand fighting men. It speaks well for the generalship of Merneptah that he held his soldiery in check, and allowed the Libyans to form, rather than to expend his strength in inconclusive skirmishes with advance parties of the enemy. The two armies being assembled in face, the Egyptian infantry and chariotry attacked.³ When within range the archers of Merneptah began to pour a heavy fire into the Libyan van, their bows being doubtless of a strength superior to that of those of the Libyans. For six hours this fire was kept up, until at length the Libyans were thrown into confusion and began to retreat. Meryey attempted vainly to rally his men, the retreat of the tribesmen became a rout,⁴ and the victorious Egyptians pursued them with cavalry as they fled.⁵ "Their marchers-forward [their van]," says one of the records, "they left behind them, their feet made no stand, but fled. Their archers threw down their bows, and the heart of their fleet ones was weary with marching. They loosed their water-skins, and threw them to the ground."⁶ The pursuit was kept up as far as the Mount of the Horns of the Earth, as the Egyptians called the edge of the plateau on the west of the Delta. The total of the slain was over 9000, and as many more appear to have been made prisoners.⁷ Six sons of Meryey, a number of his kinsmen, and other men of rank were killed,⁸ while there "were taken before his face"⁹ twelve "women of the fallen chief of Libya, whom he had brought with him, being alive."¹⁰ The Libyan camp fell into the hands of the Egyptians, who fired the tents,¹¹—"their camp was burned and made a roast."¹² The personal belongings of Meryey were seized, his silver, his gold, his vessels of bronze, the furniture of his wife, his throne, his bows, his arrows, all his works which he had brought from his land, together with his oxen, goats, and asses.¹³

The plunder obtained by the victors was considerable. The following items were listed :—¹⁴

Weapons of war which were in their hands, carried off as plunder ; copper
swords of the Meshwesh 9,111

¹ BAR iii. § 570. The attempt made by Golenischeff, in *Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache*, xl. 101 sq., to prove, from a papyrus in his possession, that the meeting took place south of the Fayum, has not met with general acceptance. For one thing the presence of the sea-allies is against this, and, further, the words "western *rwd*" point emphatically to the western margin of the Delta ; for the word *rwd* is a term used only of the Delta. W. M. F. Petrie, *loc. cit.*, is also wrong in placing the battle near Kafr ez-Zayat, for he does so on the strength of an erroneous lection by H. Brugsch, for which the reader is referred to BAR iii. § 579, note *d*, *ad loc. cit.* The exact locality remains unknown.

² BAR iii. § 583.

³ BAR *loc. cit.*

⁴ BAR § 584.

⁵ BAR iii. § 584, "Lo, the officers, who were upon the horses of his majesty, set themselves after them." Cf. J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 468.

⁶ BAR iii. § 609.

⁷ BAR iii. §§ 588, 601 and notes.

⁸ BAR iii. § 588.

⁹ BAR iii. § 610.

¹⁰ BAR iii. § 588.

¹¹ BAR iii. § 589.

¹² BAR iii. § 610.

¹³ BAR iii. § 584.

¹⁴ BAR iii. §§ 589, 601. Both these records, the great Karnak inscription and the Athribis stela, are combined above, but some obscure items, found *loc. cit.*, are here omitted.

(Libyan (?) small arms (?))		120,214
Horses which bore the fallen chief of Libya, and the children of the chief of		
Libya, carried off alive, pairs		12
Various cattle		1,308
Goats		x
Silver drinking-vessels		x
<i>Tepur</i> -vessels, <i>rehedet</i> -vessels, swords, armour, knives [of copper], and various		
vessels		3,174
Bows ¹		2,000

From the disastrous field Meryey escaped with difficulty, alone or with but few companions.² "The wretched fallen chief of Libya," says the Israel stela, "fled by favour of night alone, with no plume upon his head; . . . he had no water in his [water-]skin to keep him alive."³ In his flight he passed an Egyptian outpost called the Fortress of the West,⁴ the commanding officer of which had news of his passage and reported it. The commandant of the Fortress of the West wrote to the court as follows :—

The fallen Meryey has come, his limbs
have fled because of his cowardice, and
he passed by me by favour of night,
in safety . . . he is fallen, and every
god is for Egypt. . . . His condition is not known
whether of death or of life . . . if he lives
he will not again command, for he is fallen,
an enemy of his own troops . . . They have
put another in his place, from among his
brothers, another who fights him when he sees
him. All the chiefs are disgusted . . .⁵

The last lines of the above despatch give an interesting glimpse into the position of affairs in Libya after the defeat. Meryey, like many another barbaric leader, found to his cost that his power rested only on his success in arms. The wild tribesmen, angry and indignant at their ill fortune, turned upon their chief and deposed him, just as the fierce Zaporojian Cossacks would have pulled down an unsuccessful hetman. Across the ever-widening gulf of centuries one may still see the unhappy chieftain, a reproach to his people, his ambitions in the dust, allowed to live, in all probability, only because of his princely family. "The face of his brothers was hostile to slay him, one fought another among his leaders. . . . When he arrived in his country, he was the complaint of every one in his land. Ashamed he bowed himself down, an evil fate removed his

¹ This last item, together with the notice of the Libyan archers throwing down their bows in flight (BAR iii. § 609), shows how inaccurate W. M. F. Petrie, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 109, is in his account of the battle. "There are no bows stated among the Libyan spoil, and they seem to have relied wholly on hand-to-hand fighting and chariots," says Petrie, and goes on to compare this battle with the "parallel victory" obtained by the exarch Narses over the Franks at Casilinum.

² BAR iii. § 584 : "Lo, the wretched chief of Libya was in speed to flee by himself."

³ BAR iii. § 610.

⁴ Mentioned later by Rameses III., BAR iii. § 586. Perhaps in the Wady Naṭrun.

⁵ BAR *loc. cit.*

plume. They all spoke against him, the inhabitants of his city : ‘He is in the power of the gods, the lords of Memphis ; the lord of Egypt has cursed his name Meryey, the Abomination of Memphis, from son to son of his family, forever.’”¹ The unfortunate chief heard on all sides the praises of his enemy the Pharaoh. Merneptah became “a proverb in Libya ; the youth say to youth, concerning his victories : ‘It has not been done to us before since the time of Ra,’ say they. Every old man says to his son, ‘Alas for Libya !’” The tribesmen “ceased to live in the pleasant fashion of walking in the field ; their going about was stopped in a single day ; . . . their settlements” were “desolated,” and they said “concealment is good ; there is safety in a cavern.”²

In Egypt, on the other hand, intense relief was felt. There was a general national enthusiasm for Merneptah and gratitude to him. No more was there any “uplifting of a shout in the night : ‘Stop ! Behold one comes, one comes with the speech of strangers !’ . . . The towers are settled again anew,” continues the Israel stela ; “as for the one that ploweth his harvest, he shall eat it.”

It seems almost as if Merneptah followed up his great victory with punitive expeditions of some sort. At least he appears to have secured a tribute from his enemies,³ and he is said to have “penetrated the land of Temeh.”⁴ In the Athribis stela, also, Merneptah is mentioned as making the Libyan “camps into wastes of the Red Land, taking . . . every herb that came forth from their fields,” so that “no field grew,” and “the families of Libya” were scattered “like mice upon the dikes.”⁵ Whether we are to accept or not as a fact a retributive invasion of Libya does not much matter ; the Egyptians were content with their triumph over the invaders, and the absence of more detailed information shows clearly that, even if bodies of Egyptian troops did harry the neighbouring Libyans, the expeditions were small and not in the nature of a counter invasion vigorous enough to drive the Rebu back upon their western neighbours.

Yet so sure and decisive a repulse would in all likelihood have been effective in preventing the Libyans from making another attempt against Egypt for a long time had not the affairs of the country fallen into confusion on the death of Merneptah. Merneptah’s reign was followed by a period during which the power of the empire was weakened by obscure quarrels and the decay of military spirit. The latter is clearly indicated by the manner in which the peaceful occupations of the scribe were exalted in the literature of the day at the expense of the military life,⁶ and was one of the main reasons why the Libyans were emboldened again to attempt to enter the Nile Valley by force of arms. Unfortunately for them, the attempt was too long deferred ; when

¹ BAR iii. § 610.

² BAR iii. § 611.

³ Cf. BAR iii. § 591, where mention is made of yearly tribute.

⁴ BAR iii. § 608.

⁵ Cf. BAR iii. § 598. In the concluding simile I have altered the position of the words. Breasted has “upon the dikes like mice,” which is the literal order.

⁶ *Anastasi Papyrus* iii. pl. v. 1. 5, pl. vi. 1. 2 ; *Anastasi Papyrus* iv. pl. ix. 1. 4, pl. x. 1. 1 ; G. Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 457 sq. ; A. Erman, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben*, p. 722 ; idem, *Hieratische Ostraka in the Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache*, 1880, p. 96 sq.

it was put into effect, the XXth Dynasty had been inaugurated under the energetic Setnakht,¹ to whom succeeded a powerful and ambitious ruler, Rameses III. Already the regeneration of the country had begun. The scribes, whose temper suggest so strongly those of their successors in modern Egypt, had had to take again a position secondary to that of the soldiery on whom the welfare of the country depended.

The materials for the Libyan wars of Rameses III. are copious, but unsatisfactory. Of our chief sources, the Medînet Habu inscriptions are so overladen with metaphor and strained imagery,² and are so inconsequent, that even a scholar of Breasted's experience is forced to say that his "translation as a whole is exceedingly unsatisfactory to the author";³ while the account given in the Papyrus Harris, as was long ago recognized, attempts to summarize the first and second wars in a single narrative.⁴ Fortunately, however, we are able to trace the main features of both wars, and to see in them an extraordinary parallel to the time of Merneptah.

The first Libyan war of Rameses III. befell in the fifth year of his reign, some two decades after the Merneptah invasion. As in the accounts of that struggle, so here also the narratives show that the invasion was preceded by casual penetration or by raids—"the land had been exposed in continual extremity since the [former] kings";⁵ "the Libyans and the Meshwesh were dwelling in Egypt, having plundered the cities of the western shore."⁶ Immigration across the western frontier of the Delta had again begun; bands of Libyan robbers wandered among the towns from the vicinity of Memphis to the Mediterranean, or possessed themselves of the fields along the Canopic branch of the Nile.⁷ While this tentative advance was being made on the easternmost border of Libya, and while Setnakht and Rameses III. were bringing order out of the chaos in the Nile Valley, in Syria and Asia were happening events which finally resulted in the spurring on of the Libyans to repeat the attempt they had made under Merneptah a score of years before. Grave ethnic disturbances in the north were forcing more and more of the older inhabitants to the south. In particular, two peoples appeared, who, while not strong enough to withstand the pressure behind them, were nevertheless both of formidable strength: the Thekel and the Peleset, the latter being the Philistines of the Bible, who had before been settled in Crete. Together with the bands of Denyen, Weshesh, Shekelesh, and Sherden, the Thekel and Peleset had begun to drift toward the south and east. As they moved southward in Syria, the more venturesome of their leaders began to coast along the Delta, and to enter the river-mouths on piratical expeditions. As was natural, they readily fell into the plans of the North African

¹ Manetho begins the XXth Dynasty with Rameses III.; but see J. H. Breasted, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, p. 600 *sqq.*, and BAR i. § 69.

² BAR iv. § 21.

³ BAR iv. § 36.

⁴ G. Maspero, *op. cit.* p. 459, note 3; F. Chabas, *Études sur l'antiquité historique*, p. 230 *sqq.*; idem, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la XIX dynastie*, p. 52 *sq.*

⁵ BAR iv. § 40; cf. 52, "The land of Temeh, Šeped, and Meshwesh, who were robbers plundering Egypt every day."

⁶ BAR iv. § 405.

⁷ BAR iv. §§ 40, 405; J. H. Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 474 *sq.*

leaders to invade and plunder Egypt,¹ and the presence of these new allies gave to the Libyans just that stimulus which was needed to rekindle those ambitions which Merneptah had subdued.

The great chief Meryey, son of Ded, had been set aside after his defeat, and one of his brothers put in his place. In the record of the first invasion under Rameses III., it is stated that the Pharaoh triumphed over Ded, Meshken, Meryey and Wermer, Themer, and every hostile chief "who crossed the border of Egypt from Libya."² The occurrence here, so long after the battle of Perire, of the names of Ded and Meryey is certainly remarkable. Either the names are those of the original invaders, returned again after twenty years, or of other chieftains descended from them; or they may have been here inserted by the compiler of the later record, who took them out of the Merneptah account for the greater glorification of Rameses III. The first hypothesis, though supported by Maspero,³ is hardly possible; for in Merneptah's time Meryey had six grown sons, and if he were then but forty and his father but sixty, it is hardly likely that we should find them again taking the field at the ages of sixty and eighty respectively. The second hypothesis is one which cannot be disproved, but which is much to be suspected from the fact that the only two chieftains named in the Merneptah records should be represented by another pair bearing the same names twenty years afterward. The third possibility, which is the most probable when is considered the easy accessibility of the earlier records to the maker of the later one, is that which Breasted tacitly admits when he supposes that, as given in the notice above cited, the Libyan chiefs are listed in chronological order.⁴ If Ded and Meryey are introduced into the Rameses record in a spirit of reminiscence, and if Breasted is right in believing that the names are given in chronological order, the succession of the great chiefs of Libya would be as follows:—

1. Ded.
2. Meshken.
3. Meryey. (Deposed.)
4. Wermer. (Contemporary of Seti II., etc.)
5. Themer. (Leader of Second Invasion.⁵)

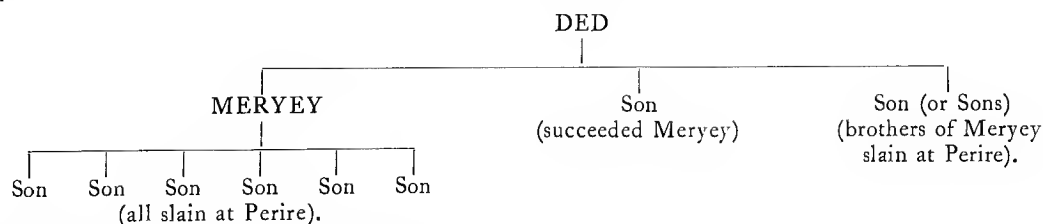
¹ J. H. Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 477 *sq.*, for these particulars.

² BAR iv. § 43.

³ G. Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 456.

⁴ BAR iv. § 43, note *b*, *ad loc. cit.*; J. H. Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 478.

⁵ The only certain family relations traceable from the Merneptah records as existing among the chiefs are thus indicated:—



The necessary filiations for Meshken, Wermer, and Themer do not exist.

This debatable ground may be left, however, for the firmer one of the history of the invasions which took place under Rameses III., which may be taken up at the moment of the union of the Thekel and the Peleset with the Libyans against Egypt. As usual, there was a general muster of the tribesmen; "the land of Temeh" came "together in one place in Libya."¹ The assembled Rebu, Meshwesh, and Şeped² moved eastward to unite with their sea-roving allies, and with those Libyans already settled in the Egyptian Delta, on the friendship of whom they could doubtless count. When joined with the latter, and with the Thekel and Peleset pirates, they could not, to judge from the numbers they eventually lost, have been much under 30,000 strong. Having joined forces, the invaders began to plunder and lay waste the countryside. The pirates, probably with an eye to securing their share of the booty, landed a large part of their crews, and served as "warriors upon land" as well as "in the sea."³ Those of the allies who remained on shipboard "entered into the river-mouths . . . like wild-fowl creeping into a net."⁴ Gradually working their way south along the Canopic arm of the Nile, the Libyans and their allies sacked the towns of the western Delta from Kerben south to Memphis.⁵ The resistance had been slight; the invaders, moreover, had been near to the sea and the coast-road into Libya, and so were in touch with their kinsmen. They became, as is the wont with ill-organized bodies in success, careless and over-confident; they began "sitting in Egypt,"⁶ apparently like so many colonists. Themer and his captains may even have considered their aim as practically accomplished, when, like a thunderbolt, the army of the warlike Pharaoh burst upon them. The defeat was utter, and was attended by a carnage in which over 12,000 of the invaders fell,⁷ a large proportion of the slain being the sea-rovers. About 1000 of the allies were made captive.⁸ The Egyptian king, personally present at the action, pursued the flying tribesmen in his chariot, accompanied by his mercenary archers and swordsmen.⁹ The wretched Thekel and Peleset on the river fared no better than those on shore; their ships were boarded and carried by the Egyptians—they had indeed "crept into a net." In commemoration of this triumph the site of it was by the royal annalists named Usermare-Meriamon-is-Chastiser-of-Temeh.

The captive allies, "with their women and children, like the ten thousand,"¹⁰ were branded with the king's name and put to serve as auxiliary troops,¹¹ or given to be slaves in the temples.¹² What became of Themer is not known; but groups

¹ BAR iv. § 40.

² BAR iv. § 40 and note *d*, *ad loc.*; cf. § 52. That the Şeped and Eşbet may be the same tribe has been mentioned in the chapter on ethnogeography.

³ BAR iv. § 44; cf. W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 360, note 4.

⁴ BAR *loc. cit.*

⁵ BAR iv. § 405. Kerben may have been the site near Abuķîr known in classical times as Heracleum—the Karbaniti of the records of Assurbanipal. H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 854 *sq.*; and BAR, note *g*, *loc. cit.*

⁶ BAR *loc. cit.*

⁷ BAR §§ iv. 52; 53, and note *c*.

⁸ BAR iv. § 54.

⁹ Scenes at Medînet Habu, mentioned by BAR §§ iv. 50, 51. The auxiliaries were Sherden.

¹⁰ BAR iv. § 405.

¹¹ BAR *loc. cit.*, also iv. § 43, and cf. §§ 402, 403.

¹² Cf. BAR iv. §§ 190, 213, 359 for this giving of captives as temple slaves.

of his "tens," or councillors, were among the prisoners brought before the king.¹ Well might the Pharaoh boast: "I overthrew those who invaded my boundary, prostrated in their place. . . . I laid low the land of Temeh. . . . The Meshwesh, they crouch down for fear of me."² The broken remnants of the invaders, it is evident, would have been only too glad to rest peaceably in their own lands³ after this rough handling. Unhappily for them, they were not allowed to do so.

It will be remembered that, in the Merneptah invasion, the Rebu fell upon the Tehenu, and forced the latter to accompany them against Egypt. Six years after the first victory of Rameses III. a parallel proceeding was put in execution by the Meshwesh. This people, situated to the west of the Rebu, does not appear to have been active in the Libyan-Egyptian wars before the XXth Dynasty. In the Merneptah invasions they are indeed mentioned, and a number of their copper swords have been enumerated among the booty taken from the Libyans. It is in the first Libyan war of Rameses III., however, that the Meshwesh themselves are seen for the first time definitely and in large numbers among the Libyan invaders as allies of the Rebu. After the defeat of the latter, the Meshwesh seem to have been but ill content with the turn of affairs, and to have had a contempt for their eastern neighbours. At all events, they had no scruple in taking advantage of the weakened state of the tribes between them and Egypt. Under Kepper and his son Meshesher, they suddenly fell upon the Rebu and Tehenu, and overcame them. "The chief of Meshwesh . . . went to one place, his land with him, and invaded the Tehenu, who were made ashes, spoiled and desolated were their cities, their seed was not."⁴ This victory would have been well enough had not the conquerors been spurred on by it to attempt a greater and more difficult venture. Full of confidence from their success, and conscious of their superiority in arms, they readily gave ear to the tales told them by the vanquished Rebu and Tehenu of the richness and accessibility of the Delta. It may be that the Rebu, anxious to rid themselves of these new masters, deliberately encouraged them to undertake the old quest on which they had themselves failed. The subject Rebu would have argued that either the Meshwesh would succeed in overcoming the Egyptians, in which case Libya would be relieved from this new oppression, and that an old score would be wiped out, or that, in case of defeat, the Meshwesh would lose so heavily that they would be more manageable masters. At all events, there is no doubt that they advised marching against Egypt, advice which the Meshwesh took to their cost, and recalled bitterly afterward, when they said: "Libya has misled us like. . . . We hearkened to their counsels."⁵

¹ BAR iv. § 42, and note *c*, *ad loc. cit.*

² BAR iv. § 58.

³ There is no reason to suppose Rameses carried war into Libya, unless weight is to be attached to the phrase "my flame consumed their towns," attributed by the Medinet Habu inscription to the king. BAR iv. § 54.

⁴ BAR iv. § 87. Though the text has "Tehenu," it is safe to assume that this general term was meant to embrace the Rebu, the immediate neighbours of the Meshwesh on the east.

⁵ BAR iv. § 91.

A confederation of the usual sort was formed,¹ five tribes, the Ešbet, Shai (Shaitep ?), Beḳen, Ḳeyḳesh, and Heš, being mentioned² as among the allies. It is possible that an understanding of some sort was arrived at with the Amorites of Syria, since the Libyan invasion and the Amorite war of the eleventh year of Rameses III. came close together,³ and one of the Medînet Habu reliefs shows the Pharaoh leading the king of Amor and the Great Chief of Libya together before Amon.⁴ Such an understanding could easily have been brought about through the agency of the Thekel, who were of the allies of the Libyans in the war of the year 5, and who not only fought against Egypt in Syria,⁵ but who even had towns there, such as Dor,⁶ and plenty of ships.⁷

Be this as it may, the Libyan force began to advance late in the year, fully bent upon occupying the enemy's country, "saying," in the words of the record, "we will settle in Egypt. So spake they with one accord, and they continually entered the boundaries of Egypt,"⁸ with a view, doubtless, of marauding and of testing the enemy's strength. The main body of the invaders seems to have met with no serious opposition until it arrived at the stronghold of Hatsho,⁹ which they began to invest.¹⁰ This was the moment chosen by Rameses, who with his archery and chariotry suddenly appeared before his fortress to relieve it.¹¹ The archers marched in the van, supported by heavy infantry that waited before charging until the bowmen had broken the ranks of the enemy.¹² The Meshwesh and other tribesmen found themselves as unable to cope with the Egyptians as had been their predecessors. Pressed by the army and exposed to a galling fire from the fortress, beneath the walls of which they were attacked, they broke and fled, being pursued from Hatsho to the town of Usermare-Meriamon, which was upon the "Mount of the Horns of the Earth." There were made "eight *iters* of butchery among them."¹³

The unfortunate Kepper was taken captive; "he came to salām; . . . he laid down his arms, together with his soldiers. He cried to heaven to beseech his son"¹⁴ for help—vainly, for Meshesher was slain on the field,¹⁵ together with the old chieftain's wife and family.¹⁶ The total number of the slain was 2175.¹⁷ The living captives, 2025 in number, were thus itemized in the account given by the Medînet Habu reliefs:—

¹ BAR iv. § 85. Undoubtedly the Rebu and Teḥenu participated. That only the Meshwesh appear in the Egyptian list of captives is due to the application by the Egyptian scribes of the name of the contingent dominant among the allies, rather than to a defection of the non-Meshwesh allies in the battle of Hatsho.

² BAR iv. § 405.

³ BAR iv. § 133.

⁴ BAR iv. § 126. The text with this scene is, "Utterance of the wretched chief of Amor, and the wretched vanquished chief of Libya, 'Breath!'" BAR iv. § 127.

⁵ BAR iv. § 64. With the Peleset, etc.

⁶ BAR iv. § 565, "Dor, a city of Thekel."

⁷ BAR iv. § 588, where eleven Thekel sail are mentioned as lying off Byblus.

⁸ BAR iv. § 88.

⁹ Some eleven miles from the desert (cf. BAR iv. § 83 and note *b*, *ad loc.*). Cf. the 8 *iters* pursuit from Hatsho to the "Mount of the Horns of the Earth" (BAR iv. § 102). Hatsho was situated by the canal called "The Waters of Re" (cf. BAR iv. § 83 and note *a*, *ad loc.*; § 224 and note *d*, *ad loc.*). For the length of the *iter* see BAR ii. § 965, note *a*, *ad loc.*

¹⁰ Cf. BAR iv. §§ 102, 107.

¹¹ Cf. BAR iv. § 107. Scene at Medînet Habu.

¹² BAR iv. § 106. Scene at Medînet Habu.

¹³ BAR iv. § 102.

¹⁴ BAR iv. § 97.

¹⁵ BAR iv. §§ 90, 100, 103.

¹⁶ BAR iv. § 103.

¹⁷ BAR iv. §§ 106, 111.

PLATE X.



CAPTIVE LIBYANS. DYNASTY XX.

The captivity which the mighty sword of Pharaoh, L.P.H., carried away from the vanquished of the Meshwesh :—

Chiefs of the Meshwesh	1 man.
Chieftains of the . . . enemy	5 men. ¹
Meshwesh	1205 men.
Youths	152
Boys	131
Total	1494
Their wives	342 women.
Maids	65
Girls	151
Total	558 ²
Total of the mighty sword of Pharaoh, as living captives	2052 various persons.

The captured spoil was as follows :—

Cattle, bulls	119 (+ x)
Swords of 5 cubits length	115
Swords of 3 cubits length	124
Bows	603
Chariots	93 (? to 99)
Quivers	2310
Spears	92
Horses of Meshwesh and asses	183 ³

The prisoners were branded with the king's name, and made to serve as auxiliaries ;⁴ nearly a thousand were assigned to care for a temple herd grandiosely called “ Usermare-Meriatmon-L.P.H.-is-the-Conqueror-of-the-Meshwesh-at-the-Waters-of-Re ” ;⁵ and in commemoration of this victory, which took place in the middle of the twelfth month of the king's eleventh year, Rameses established an annual festival called in the temple calendar “ Slaying the Meshwesh.”⁶

This was the outcome of the last of the great Libyan militant invasions. The triumph of the king had spread the terror of his name as far as “ the Great Bend,”⁷ and the Libyans must have been convinced that they could not cope with the Egyptians in war.

As before the invasions, however, the Libyans continued to drift gradually eastward into the Delta, singly, in small groups, or in families, and rose eventually, as will be seen, to hold the supreme power. But before those events, which belong rather to Egyptian than to Libyan history, it is necessary first to consider the cause of all this easterly move-

¹ Were these the chiefs of the five tribes mentioned above ?

² BAR iv. § 111. From these data it may be assumed that the invading force was at least 10,000 strong.

³ BAR *loc. cit.*

⁴ BAR iv. § 405.

⁵ BAR iv. § 224.

⁶ BAR iv. § 145.

⁷ BAR iv. § 110. This locality is probably not to be identified with the Catabathmus Major, since both Rebu and Meshwesh lived west of that point. Rather it is the southerly curve of the Cyrenaic coast, entering the Syrtis Major.

ment of the Libyans—a movement of which the great invasions just recorded were simply the most striking manifestations within our historical horizon.

If the Libyan campaign of Seti I. be regarded as the first indication of a general easterly movement of the populations of Eastern Libya, the invasions may be said, broadly, to have occupied the twelfth century B.C. This was an epoch which saw the later and final manifestations of a great ethnic movement in Europe. The southern shifting of the Syrian peoples with whom the Thekel and Peleset were associated has been mentioned already; about 1300 B.C. the Cretan thalassocracy, and, a century later, about 1200 B.C., the late Minoan power itself came to a violent close. Many island and coastwise people, taking refuge in sea-craft which their invaders did not possess, became piratical adventurers like the Peleset. Some of these people, driven from their homes, seized small ports and held them, as the Thekel held the town of Dor. It was a period when, in the Eastern Mediterranean, whole peoples, split up into small groups, were seeking to re-establish themselves in new homes. Such a re-establishment, it may be supposed, resulted in the Carian sea-power of the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. In the west the twelfth century was marked by the introduction of iron into Italy, and about this time the Venetes and Illyrians reached the Adriatic. The Tyrrhenians entered Italy, and pushed before them the Italiot Umbro-Latins. These in turn drove out the Sicels,¹ who, in the Egyptian records already quoted, appear as the Shekelesh. In Spain the firing or abandonment of the sites inhabited in the Bronze Age² commemorate the advent of powerful iron-using peoples at this time. In short, all southern Europe and Asia Minor felt the force of the ethnic thrust that pushed the Thracians into the Balkans.³ The dispossessed heirs of the bronze culture could find a home nowhere if not in Africa, a country eminently habitable, held by a weak neolithic or partially aeneolithic people, and cut off by the sea from the invaders. Large masses of wanderers driven from southern Europe crossed to the opposite continent, particularly, it is reasonable to suppose, in the parts approaching most nearly to Spain and Italy. The landing of a large body of immigrants in the region which is now Marocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, and the presence along the coast of rapacious Sherden, Peleset, Thekel, etc., would naturally produce an ethnic disturbance of some magnitude. This would take the form of an easterly or westerly movement, the desert nature of the interior putting a southerly one practically out of the question; and of the two directions the easterly would be the more likely, as in the west new arrivals were pressing in from the Iberian Peninsula, and as the region east of Tunisia is less mountainous and difficult to traverse than the Atlas belt on the west. Probably a movement from Africa Minor toward Egypt was inaugurated as early as 1300 B.C. It was accelerated by the arrival at various points of detached bodies of sea-peoples, whose arrival was commemorated in later times by legends such as that which said the Maxyes were of Trojan origin.⁴ Armed with superior

¹ J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 315 *sqq.*, 321.

³ J. Deniker, *op. cit.* p. 321.

² L. Siret, *L'Espagne préhistorique*, p. 73.

⁴ Herodotus iv. 191.

weapons and more advanced in civilization than the indigenous North Africans, the new arrivals expanded rapidly. An insistent ethnic pressure began to have its effects in the east. Seti I. and Rameses II. felt the force of it in Egypt, and cut off the head of the advancing column. Then the Rebu, pressed on the west, fell on their eastern neighbours and attempted the invasion which was checked by Merneptah. Again a convulsive west-to-east movement—the disastrous invasion in the year 5 of Rameses III.—was blocked by the Egyptians, and again a tribe advancing from the west—the Meshwesh—fell in upon their eastern neighbours, and attempted vainly to establish themselves in Egypt. Such a succession of wars, and the events by which, as will be shown later, it was followed, can be explained only by the facts just outlined; by the arrival of new and powerful ethnic elements in the vicinity of those parts of Africa lying opposite Spain and Italy. The Libyan invasions, it will have been noticed, were accompanied by numbers of women and children,¹ and were animated by a colonizing spirit. They were, briefly, not invasions in the ordinary sense, but waves of a migration which had been set in motion in the west.

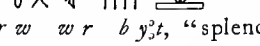
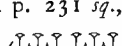
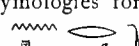
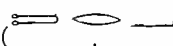
The armed migrations terminated with the battle of Hatsho; the impulse which had caused them remained. Under the immediate successors of Rameses III. went on a steady and persistent infiltration of Libyan immigrants into the Delta; under “the weak and inglorious XXIst Dynasty”² these families in some cases became powerful. At the beginning of this chapter the first period of Libyan history was set as extending roughly to 1000 B.C., the time by which the invasions or militant migrations had come to an end. It was about this time that the peaceful penetration of the Delta was taking place. In order, however, to understand what was happening at this period, it is necessary to consider some of the later phases of New Empire history in which the obscure immigrants of the eleventh century are seen more clearly in the light of the power they came to attain. For the study of this point there most fortunately remain the records of an immigrant family which may be regarded as typical, the family of the Libyan Buyuwawa.³

¹ That more women and children are not mentioned in the Egyptian annals is perhaps due to the fact that their enumeration would not redound especially to the credit of their victors, and perhaps because the majority of the non-combatant Libyans were left in the rear of the militant bodies, awaiting the conclusion of the campaigns.

² J. H. Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 527.

³ The genealogy of the family is contained in the Serapeum stela of Harpeson, BAR iv. § 787 *sqq.* Buyuwawa is there called Tehen-Buyuwawa. Twenty years ago P. le P. Renouf, *Who were the Libyans?* p. 602, inspired by Oppert, in *Congr. Intern. des Orient.*, Paris, 1873, vol. ii. p. 183 *sqq.*, tried to interpret the name

 *t h n - b w y w w*, differently, rendering the word  *t h n* as “bright,” “shining.”

He cited  *t h n - h*, *λαμπροφανής*, from the titulary of Rameses III., and  *t h n h p r w w r b y t*, “splendid of forms, great in marvellous works,” from the titulary of Amenhotep III. as parallels. Renouf on these grounds claimed that Tehen-Buyuwawa, “Radiant” or “Illustrious” Buyuwawa, was a compound name like *Λαμπρόπους*, or *Longimanus*. Recent scholarship has rejected this explanation, though W. M. F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, vol. iii. p. 231 *sq.*, has not only accepted it, but also reissued Oppert’s etymologies for the names of this family—e.g. *Sheshonk* () “man of Shushan”; *Nemareth* (thus reading ) or  = *nimr*, Ar. *نمر* “the leopard”; *Takerat* () = “perhaps from the Zend, *tighri*, the tiger,” etc. Vide BAR, *loc. cit.*, and J. H. Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 526.

Early in the XXth Dynasty a Teḥen-Libyan of this name settled in Heracleopolis. His son Musen became priest of the Heracleopolitan temple, and held command of the town's mercenary soldiers. Both these offices became hereditary in the family, which steadily increased in influence, and which became more and more Egyptianized as it advanced in power.

Buyuwawa's great-great-grandson, Sheshonk, "great chief of the Meshwesh," was able, when he found that part of the rich endowment he had provided for the upkeep of his son's mortuary service had been misappropriated, to interest one of the XXIst Dynasty kings in his behalf, and to secure a decision in his favour from the Theban Amon.¹ The grandson of this Sheshonk, who bore the same name, was first a local magnate the extent of whose domains would have warranted his having been rated as a prince. When the XXIst Dynasty had become naturally extinct, or too feeble to continue its nerveless existence, this second Sheshonk removed from Heracleopolis to Bubastis, and in 945 B.C. proclaimed himself Pharaoh.²

Thus, in a little more than two centuries after the death of their arch-enemy, Rameses III., the Libyans, having added to their natural hardihood the culture of the civilized Egyptians, became without a struggle rulers of what was still the most powerful empire in the Eastern Mediterranean. The genealogy of the house of Buyuwawa to the accession of Sheshonk I.³ is as follows; the successors of that king belong rather to Egyptian than to Libyan history :—

1. Buyuwawa.
- |
2. Musen.
- |
3. Nebneshi.
- |
4. Pethut.
- |
5. Sheshonk = Mehetnushet.
- |
6. Namlot = Temsepeh.
- |
7. King Sheshonk I. = Kerome.

The family from which sprang the XXIIInd Dynasty kings was a typical one. Evidence exists until late Egyptian times that many Libyan families were established in the Delta, and while their fortunes did not rise as high as those of the house mentioned, they nevertheless produced a number of petty dynasts and princes, such as those seen in the account of the northern revolt suppressed by the Aethiopian Piankhi in the XXIIIrd Dynasty.⁴ Such a local magnate appeared at the end of the Egyptian period in the person of Inarus, whose brilliant but unsuccessful revolt against Artaxerxes I. will be mentioned in due course.

¹ BAR iv. § 669 *sqq.*

³ BAR iv. § 787.

² BAR iv. § 785 *sqq.*

⁴ BAR iv. § 815 *sqq.*; especially §§ 830, 878.

PERIOD II

The main characteristic of this period is the gradual curtailment of the area occupied by the Eastern Libyans, because of foreign colonization in Africa. To present the scattered notices relating to the Libyans during this period in narrative form is scarcely profitable, the events of which records remain being for the most part isolated and unconnected with each other. All the significant material has therefore been cast in the form of a rough chronicle. In this chronicle are inserted a number of events relating only indirectly to Eastern Libya, yet of enough importance to warrant their being put in. Such items are printed at the right of the page, the facts of East Libyan history being given the full width.

Circa 1175 B.C.

About this time the Egyptian oases were colonized by Rameses III.¹ Hargarh became for a time a place of exile for Egyptian criminals.²

Circa 935 B.C.

Sheshonk I. sent to Dahlah, which, from the weakness of the XXIst Dynasty, "had been found to be in a state of rebellion and desolate," a commissioner to restore and maintain order. This commissioner was a priest of Diospolis Parva, a Libyan called Wayheset.³

Circa 800 B.C.

About this time Carthage was founded.⁴

763 B.C.

A Libyan, "the great chief of Rebu, great chief of Me[shwesh] Hetihenker," governor of the Western Delta under Sheshonk III.⁵

A Libyan, Weshtet, serving as master-caravaneer to Sheshonk III.⁶

Circa 700 B.C.

Carthaginian *emporium* established in the Syrtica Regio. By these factories trade with the interior was stimulated, and the career of mercenary service was opened to Eastern Libyans.⁷

Circa 639 B.C.

Greek colonists from Thera occupy Plataea ("Seal Island" in the Gulf of Bombah) in the territory of the Giligamae.⁸

Circa 637 B.C.

Greeks leave Plataea for Aziris on the adjacent main.⁹

¹ BAR iv. § 213.

² BAR iv. § 650 *sqq.*

³ BAR iv. § 726.

⁴ O. Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager*, vol. i. p. 90 *sq.* The factory of Cambe had already been established by the Sidonians.

⁵ BAR iv. § 784; cf. § 783.

⁶ BAR *loc. cit.*

⁷ Cf. C. Perroud, *De Syrticis emporiis*, p. 200.

⁸ The date is 2 + 6 + 631, since the colonists spent two years on Plataea (Herodotus iv. 157), and six at Aziris before going to Cyrene (Herodotus iv. 158), which they founded in 631 B.C. Plataea = "Seal Island" in the Gulf of Bombah, and not, as many geographers have assumed, Burdah or Bombah Island, which is an uninhabitable rock.

⁹ Herodotus v. 157.

Circa 631 B.C.

The Greeks leave Aziris at the instigation of the friendly Giligamae, who conduct them to a point within the territories of the Asbystae, where they found Cyrene.¹

*Circa 572 B.C.*²

The Cyrenaean Greeks are reinforced by fresh colonists. The Asbystae and their chief, Adicran, "being robbed and insulted by the Cyreneans," send messengers to Egypt, and put themselves under the rule of Apries [= Hā-ab-ra = Hophra of the Bible], the Egyptian king, who thereupon levies a vast army of Egyptians, and sends it against Cyrene. The inhabitants of that place leave their walls and march out in force to the district of Irasa, where, near the spring called Theste, they engage the Egyptian army and defeat it.³

The results of this first conflict between the Greeks and Egyptians, thus brought about by the Libyans, were far-reaching. For Apries was blamed for the defeat, and Amasis (Ahmose II.) revolted and became first co-regent and then sole king.

About this time, or a little before, the Ammonians, who lived under the rule of their own princes,⁴ become strongly Egyptianized, if not under direct Egyptian sway. The earliest architectural remains in the oasis belong to this period, and are wholly Egyptian in character. A little later Herodotus described the population as partly Egyptian.⁵

*Circa 550 B.C.*⁶

The brothers of Arcesilaus II., Perseus, Zacynthus, Aristomedon, and Lycus withdraw from Cyrene with their adherents to Barca, a town in the territory of the Auschisae. This town they are said by Herodotus⁷ to have founded, but from its non-Greek name, and the circumstances attaching to the story of the secession, it is almost certain that it was of native origin, ante-dating the arrival of the Greeks, or that the Auschisae had a large share in building it.⁸ The brothers fomented a Libyan revolt against Cyrene. Arcesilaus marched against the rebels, who retreat eastward to a place called Leucon. The Libyans there made a stand, and engaged the Cyrenaeans, defeating them so heavily that the Greeks are said to have lost 7000 heavy-armed men.⁹

Circa 525-524 B.C.

Cambyes III. accepts tribute from the Libyans of Marmarica.¹⁰

¹ Herodotus iv. 158. For the date cf. Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* vi. 8. 3, as against Solinus xxvii. 44, where the date is given as 597.

² For the date $631 - 40 - 16 - x$, x being < 6 ; for Battus I. ruled in Cyrene forty years, and his successor Arcesilaus I. ruled sixteen (Herodotus iv. 159), $631 - (40 + 16) = 575$ = accession of Battus II. A little time must be allowed for the renewed colonizing activity which led Adicran to call in Apries; hence, as Apries was killed in 569 B.C., the Egyptian expedition must have been between *circa* 573 and 569. But Amasis, after the expedition and before the murder of Apries, ruled with the latter at least two years (W. M. F. Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iii. p. 350 *sq.*), so that the date of the expedition falls within the narrow limits of *circa* 573-571 B.C.

³ Herodotus iv. 159. Cf. A. Wiedemam, *Geschichte Ägyptens von Psammetich*, i. etc., p. 165.

⁴ The names of three of these were copied by G. Steindorff who gives them (in transcription only) in his *Durch die libyschen Wüste zur Amonsoase*. They there appear as "Set-erdaïs, Great Chief of Foreign Lands," son of "Retneb" (same title—p. 118); and as "Un-Amon" (same title) son of "Nefret-ronpet" (p. 121). The "Etearchus" of Herodotus probably belonged to the first half of the fifth century B.C.

⁵ Herodotus ii. 32. And, in part, Aethiopian. But by "Aethiopian" Herodotus may here intend Libyan, Greek writers occasionally confusing the two.

⁶ *I.e.* some years after the accession of Arcesilaus II. Chalepus.

⁷ Herodotus iv. 160.

⁸ I have already remarked on the native character of Barca in the preceding chapter (p. 177, note 4), citing Polyaeus, *Strateg.* viii. 47. See too p. 231, note 3.

⁹ Herodotus, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iii. 13. 'The tribute of the Cyreneans was thought insultingly small.

Cambyes III. despatches against Ammonium an army said to have consisted of 50,000 men. The army proceeded from the Nile, *via* Hargah. What afterward happened is not clearly known. The army apparently reached Hargah in safety, and left for Sîwah. At the latter place it never arrived, local legend reporting that while halting on the road it was overwhelmed by a sandstorm.¹

Circa 517 B.C.

The Carthaginians and the Macae drive out the Doric Greeks who had established themselves at the mouth of the Cinyps River.²

Circa 515 B.C.

Alazir,³ king of Barca, and his son-in-law, Arcesilaus III., murdered. Pheritime, mother of Arcesilaus, seeks and obtains help from Aryandes, satrap of Egypt. Aryandes besieges Barca, which he takes by treachery, penetrates to Euhesperis, and then returns to Egypt. On the way back the Persians are harassed by the Libyans, who cut off stragglers for the sake of their accoutrements. The captive Barceans are settled in Asia.⁴

Circa 500 B.C.

Ammonium and the Egyptian oases thoroughly subjected to Persia. Darius I. begins his temple at Hargah.

480 B.C.

Large Libyan contingent in the army of Xerxes.⁵

460–454 B.C.

Inarus, son of Psammetichus, a Libyan dynast of the Western Delta, revolts from Persia, with the support of the Mareotic Libyans, and perhaps of Cyrene.⁶ Aided by the Athenians, who send their fleet from Cyprus, Inarus defeats the Persians in a pitched battle in which he slays Achaemenes, the satrap, with his own hand. He besieges Memphis unsuccessfully, and is forced to withdraw to Papremis. Finally, he is captured and crucified. In accordance with a not uncommon Persian policy, his son, Thanyras, is installed in his stead.⁷

Circa 450 B.C.

The Nasamonies fall upon the Psylli, destroy many of them, and force the remainder away from the Syrtic coast.⁸

¹ Herodotus iii. 17, 25, 26; cf. Diodorus Siculus x. 13; Justin i. 9. 3. This expedition may have been directed by Cambyes, who obviously had but a poor knowledge of the desert, against Cyrene as an ultimate objective. Vide *supra*, p. 174 sq.

² Cf. C. Perroud, *De Syrticis emporiis*, p. 155.

³ The name Ἀλαζίρ (Herodotus iv. 164), belonging to a king of Barca, is further evidence of the Libyan character of that city. The name is obviously that seen as ΑΛΑΔΔΕΙΡ in an inscription (CIG 5147). A Cyrenaic tile-stamp found at Cyrene by the American Expedition (reproduced in *Bull. Arch. Inst. America*, vol. ii. no. 4, pl. xiv.) seems also

to exhibit this name, though no one has chanced to remark it. The stamp as copied is

Λ	Λ	Λ
Ι	Ζ	

, and the reading suggested is ΑΛΕΖΗ. The spacing calls for one more letter, which permits one to restore the name as ΑΛΕΖΗ(P).

⁴ Herodotus iv. 164 sqq., 200 sqq.

⁵ *Ibid.* vii. 184.

⁶ Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 53–56.

⁷ Ctesias, *Frag.* 29 § 32; Thucydides i. 103, 104; Diodorus Siculus xi. 71 sqq.; Herodotus iii. 12, vii. 7.

⁸ The date must lie between the times of Hecataeus and of Herodotus, since the former calls the Gulf of Kebrî the Psyllic Gulf; and by the time of the latter the Psylli had not only been driven back from the coast, but a legendary account of their removal had sprung up. It is Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* vii. 2) who has preserved the rational record of what took place—*haec gens [scil. the Psylli] ipsa quidem prope internicione sublata est a Nasamonibus, qui nunc eas tenent sedes.*

413 B.C.

The Spartan Gylippus, on his way westward to the relief of Syracuse, puts into Euesperis from stress of weather, and finds that city besieged by the Libyans. With his aid, the natives are beaten back.¹

Circa 390 B.C.

The Libyans of Barca make a treaty with Harcoris of Egypt.²

Circa 331 B.C.

Alexander of Macedon conquers Egypt and visits Ammonium.

310-307 B.C.

Agathocles of Syracuse levies war on Carthage in Africa, and is partly supported by the discontented Libyans. In 308 B.C. Ophellas marches across the coast-road from Cyrene to join Agathocles, who slays him by treachery.³

Circa 277 B.C.

Magas of Cyrene marches from Cyrene against Egypt, and reaches the town of Chi.⁴ At that point he learns that the Marmaridae have risen behind him and threaten to cut him off from his base. He withdraws, and puts down the Libyans.⁵

264-241 B.C.

First Punic War. Many African mercenaries in the Carthaginian army.⁶ Under Spendius and Mathos, the Libyan, these eventually mutiny.⁷

240-237 B.C.

The mutiny develops into the African war⁸ of Carthage.

218 B.C.

The war continues. Scipio invades Africa, where he obtains native support.⁹

149-146 B.C.

Third Punic War ; Carthage destroyed.

111 B.C.

Ptolemy Apion bequeaths Cyrenaica to Rome.

¹ Thucydides vii. 50.

² Theopompus, *Frag.* 111 in *FHG.* vol. i. p. 295. C. Müller here reads βαρβάρους for the *vulg.* Βαρκαίους.

³ Diodorus Siculus xx. 3. 3, xvii. 1 ; cf. lv. 4.

⁴ Polyaeus, *Strateg.* ii. 28. 2, Xi. In Ptol. iv. 5 § 4, Xεί or Χειμώ ; *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*, §§ 5, 6, Χιμώ.

⁵ For the date, J. P. Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 124, note 1.

⁶ Polybius i. 67. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 69. 6 ; cf. Diodorus Siculus xxv. 5. 2.

⁸ Polybius i. 70. 5 *sqq.* ; cf. H. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, vol. i. p. 46, and notes.

⁹ Livy xxii. 47.

Circa 87 B.C.

Phaedimus slain by Nicocrates, tyrant of Cyrene, who then marries Aretaphile, widow of Phaedimus. Aretaphile persuades Leander to kill his brother Nicocrates, and Leander succeeds to the tyranny, marrying Aretaphile.

The cruelty of Leander leads Aretaphile to conspire against him with Anabus, chief of a neighbouring tribe. Anabus threatens rebellion, and at a conference with Leander has him strangled.¹

67 B.C.

Cyrenaica reduced to a Roman province. All the East Libyan littoral under Roman sway.

49 B.C.

Cato marches from Cyrene across the Syrtis.²

35 B.C.

Outbreak in Roman Africa.³

30 B.C.

Egypt a Roman province.

29 B.C.

Outbreak in Roman Africa.⁴

21 B.C.

Outbreak in Roman Africa.⁴

19 B.C.

Lucius Cornelius Balbus leads a successful punitive force into Phazania (Fezzan) against the marauding Garamantes, of which expedition Pliny gives the following account :—

“ . . . beyond the Lesser Syrtis is the region of Phazania ; the nation of Phazanii belonging to which, as well as the cities of Alele and Cilliba, we have subdued by force of arms, as also Cydamus, which lies over against Sabrata. After passing these places a range of mountains extends in a prolonged chain from east to west ; these have received from our people the name of Black Mountains, either from the appearance which they naturally bear of having been exposed to the action of fire, or else because they have been scorched by the sun's rays. Beyond it lies the desert, and then Talgae, a city of the Garamantes, and Debris, . . . Garama, too, that most famous capital of the Garamantes, all of which places have been subdued by the Roman arms. It was on this occasion that Cornelius Balbus was honoured with a triumph. . . . Besides Cydamus and Garama, there were carried in procession the names and models of all the other nations and cities in the following order :⁵ Tabudium, a town ; Niteris, a tribe [*natio*] ; the town of Nigligemela,⁶ the tribe or town of Bubeium, the tribe Enipi, the town Thuben, the mountain

¹ Plutarch, *De mulier. virtut.* p. 255 *sqq.* ; cf. J. P. Thrige, *Res Cyrenensium*, p. 269 *sqq.*

² Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, § 56 ; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ix. 300 *sqq.*

³ Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* xlix. 34.

⁴ H. Fournel, *op. cit.* p. 49, and note 4, sub-note *d.*

⁵ The order is probably that in which the towns were taken, and almost certainly a north to south one. The attempts which have been made to identify these ancient names with those of modern sites in Fezzan are hardly convincing.

⁶ *Nigligemela*, though the current form of this name, is not the one preferred by Jahn, who reads *Miglis Gemella*. If this lection is right, one is strongly tempted to see here a Semitic name—مجلس جبل. Cf. in Assyria the Semitic Γανγάμηλα (Strabo xvi. p. 737).

known as the Black Mountain, Nitibrum, the towns called Rapsa, the tribe Discera, the town Debris, the river Nathabur, the town Thapsagum, the tribe Nannagi, the town Boin, the town Pege, the river Dasibari ; and then the towns in the following order, of Baracum, Buluba, Alasit, Galia, Balla, Maxalla, Zigama, and Mount Gyri, which was preceded by an inscription stating that this was the place where precious stones were produced.”¹

6 B.C.

The Musulini and the Gaetuli defeated in Western Libya by Cornelius Crassus.²

A.D. 17.

Revolt of Tacfarinas begins, and lasts till A.D. 24, the scene of war shifting more and more westward.³

Circa A.D. 20.

P. Sulpicius Quirinius, proconsul of Creta-et-Cyrene, defeats the Marmaridae and the Garamantes, the latter being, apparently, beaten near their own territory.⁴

A.D. 40-42.

Revolt under Aedemon in the western Atlas, put down by Suetonius Paulinus.⁵
Raids in Numidia.⁶

Circa A.D. 69.

Revolt of Oea and Leptis Magna in the reign of Vespasian. The towns are aided by the Garamantes, who had been in the habit of defending themselves from attack by hiding their water-holes. “Up to the present,” writes Pliny, “it has been found impracticable to keep open the road that leads to the country of the Garamantes, as the robber bands of that people have filled up the wells with sand, which wells do not require to be digged to any great depth, if you but have knowledge of the locality.”⁷

A.D. 86.

In the reign of Domitian, the Nasamones revolted, slew the Roman quaestors, and took the camp of the praetor Flaccus. Finding a store of wine in the camp, however, they made themselves drunk with it ; the camp was re-taken by Flaccus, and the Nasamones were put to the sword.⁸

Circa A.D. 100.

Christianity begins to be established along the North African coast.

Septimius Flaccus penetrates to Aethiopia at the head of a Roman column.

Julius Maternus, marching from Leptis Magna to Garama, there joins forces with the Garamantes, and proceeds southward against various Aethiopian bands.⁹

¹ Pliny v. 5.

³ Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 52 ; iii. 21 ; etc.

⁵ Pliny v. 1 ; Dio Cassius lx. 1.

⁷ Pliny v. 5 ; Tacitus, *Histor.* iv. 50 ; Solinus xxx.

⁸ Eusebius, *Chronicon*, p. 378 ; Zonaras, *Annales*, xi. 19 (p. 500).

⁹ Marinus Tyrius *ap.* Ptolemy i. 8 § 4, . ἀπὸ Γαράμης ἄμα τῷ βασιλεὶ τῶν Γαραμάντων ἐπερχομένων τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν ὁδεύσαντα τὰ πάντα πρὸς μεσημβρίαν μῆσι τέσσαρσι ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀγίσυμβα, κτλ.

² Dio Cassius, *Hist. Roman.* lv. 26 ; Orosius vi. 21.

⁴ L. Annaeus Florus iv. 12, 41 (ii. 31) ; Jornandes, p. 1072 § 64.

⁶ Dio Cassius, *loc. cit.*

A.D. 115.

Great Judaic uprising in Cyrenaica. Massacre of the Gentiles.¹

A.D. 117.

Revolts in the Atlas.²

A.D. 122.

Hadrian visits Mauretania to re-establish peace.³

Between A.D. 138 and 161.

Reign of Antoninus : revolt in the west. The Mauri, driven into the Atlas, sue for peace.⁴

A.D. 170.

Serious revolts in west. The Mauri engage the Romans not only in Africa, but in Spain. They are eventually defeated on both sides of the Straits.⁵

A.D. 180-192.

New outbreaks in the west during reign of Commodus.⁶

A.D. 193.

Septimius Severus becomes Emperor. He was born at Leptis Magna,⁷ and was therefore conversant with the local conditions of Eastern Libya. "This prince," says Spartianus, "established the complete security of Tripolis, where he was born, by the defeat of numerous warlike tribes."⁸

A.D. 197.

Agrippinus, bishop of Carthage.⁹

A.D. 200.

Martyrdom of the Scillitani.¹⁰

Between A.D. 228 and 238.

Mauri repressed in the west by Furius Celsus.¹¹

In 238 elevation of Gordianus Pius at Thysdrus.¹²

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 2. 2 ; Dio Cassius lxxviii. 32. 5 ; S. Hieronymus, *Chronicon*, pp. 164, 165, 167 ; Orosius vii. 12 § 6. The extent of this rebellion leads to the conclusion that many Berber converts to Judaism may have been involved in it. According to Orosius, the mortality was so severe as to necessitate a recolonization of the Pentapolis under Hadrian. Jews persisted in the Pentapolis into Christian times, their presence being noticed by Synesius, *Epist.* 137.

² Aelius Spartianus, *Hadrianus* 5.

³ *Ibid.* 12.

⁴ Julius Capitolinus, *Antoninus Pius* 5.

⁵ Idem, *Marcus Aurelius philosophus* 21.

⁶ Aelius Lampridius, *Commodus* 9, 13.

⁷ Eutropius, *Breviar. ab urbe condita*, viii. 18 ; Sext. Aurel. Victor, *De Caesaribus* 20 ; idem, *Epitome* 20 ; Aelius Spartianus, *Severus* 1, 18.

⁸ Aelius Spartianus, *Severus* 18.

⁹ S. A. Morcelli, *Africa Christiana*, vol. ii. p. 44.

¹⁰ D. Ruinart, *Acta martyrum sincera et selecta*, p. 73 sqq. ; idem, *Hist. persecut. Vandal.* p. 247 sq. ; S. A. Morcelli, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 50, vol. ii. p. 53.

¹¹ Lampridius, *Alexander Severus*, 58.

¹² Herodian, *Ab excessu Divi Marci*, vii. 4. 2, v. 3 ; Sext. Aurel. Victor, *De Caesaribus* 26 ; J. Capitolinus, *Maximino duo* 13, 14.

A.D. 253.

Raiding in Numidia.¹

A.D. 256.

Council of African bishops at Carthage.²

A.D. 261.

Raids of Faraxen finally put down by Gargilius.³

A.D. 270.

Probus, later Emperor, conducts a successful campaign against the Marmaridae. He marched, according to Vopiscus, "from Libya to Carthage, where he quieted some uprisings. . . . In Africa he fought against a certain Aradion in a duel in which he came off victor."⁴

The Palmyrene generals of Zenobia in Egypt find allies in the Blemmyes, who come north from above the First Cataract and soon overrun the Thebaid.⁵

A.D. 271.

Aurelian breaks the Palmyrene power in Egypt, but the remnants of the forces of Zenobia, together with the rebel Egyptians and the Blemmyes, hold upper Egypt under Firmus.⁶

During this period the Romans have also to engage bands of nomadic robbers who raid from the Libyan desert.⁷

Circa A.D. 292.

Diocletian calls in the Nobatae or Nobadae, a tribe of the western desert, to occupy Nubia, and defend the south Egyptian frontier against the Blemmyes.⁸

In the west, in the Jurjura Mts., breaks out the rebellion of the Quinquegentes, which was eventually crushed by Maximianus.⁹

A.D. 320–325.

Arianism begins to spread.¹⁰

¹ Sanctus Cyprianus, *Epist.* 60 in *Op. Om.* pp. 99, 100. St. Cyprian collected funds for the relief of the plundered Christians of Numidia.

² Idem, *De haereticis rebaptizandis* (*Op. Om.* p. 329).

³ Inscription from Şur el-Ghazlan in T. Shaw, *Travels*, etc., vol. i. p. 95; cf. L. Renier, *Inscriptions romaines de l'Algérie*, p. 25, no. 101; and H. Fournel, *Les Berbers*, vol. i. p. 59.

⁴ Flavius Vopiscus, *Probus* 9.

⁵ Zosimus i. 44; Trebellius Pollio, *Glaudius II.*; Vopiscus, *Firmus* 2, 3. Cf. D. G. Hogarth, *ap.* W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos*, p. 34.

⁶ Vopiscus, *Aurelianus* 32; *Firmus* 5.

⁷ Zosimus i. 70; Vopiscus, *Probus* 17.

⁸ Procopius, *De bello Persico* i. 19; cf. J. G. Milne, *History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 86.

⁹ H. Fournel, *op. cit.* p. 60 and notes; Sext. Aurel. Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 39; Eutropius, *op. cit.* ix. 22; Zonaras, *Annales*, ii. p. 243; Auctor Incertus, *Panegyricus Maximiano et Constantino*, viii. 6.

¹⁰ P. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. iii. p. 360.

About this time a certain Armatius successfully engaged the Libyan marauders, but died of sickness before achieving any decisive victory.¹

A.D. 372.

Revolt of Firmus, son of Nubel; Count Theodosius in Africa. Firmus proclaims himself champion of the Donatists, and liberator of Africa. Theodosius crushes the revolt, and is himself rewarded with capital punishment under Gratianus, A.D. 376.²

Circa A.D. 390–410.

The Ausuriani or Austuriani, on the borders of Africa and the province of Libya, neighbours of the Mazices,³ having been for a time quiet, revolted.⁴ They ravaged the vicinity of Leptis Magna for three days, and continued to be active even into the reign of Valentinian.⁵ About the end of the fourth century they and the Mazices overran the Cyrenaic Pentapolis. The Mazices, during the time of the indolent Strategus Cerealis,⁶ actually laid siege to Cyrene itself.⁷ The philosopher-bishop Synesius was very active in the defence against these bands, and indeed the Christians of the Pentapolis showed an exemplary degree of bravery in combating their invaders. The clergy of Axomis, near Darnis, having news of a body of marauders who were looting in the wooded valley of Myrtitis, marched forth with their peasant parishioners, and defeated the robbers with slaughter. In that action, the deacon Faustus, at the outset of the conflict, set a good example by felling one of the brigands with a stone, and then seizing his arms.⁸ After suffering miserably from bad governors, the Pentapolitans were at length fortunate in having put over them a young and active officer, Anysius, who, with a small force of light horse, hunted down the Ausurian bands, though he lacked strength sufficient to carry war into the enemy's country.

A.D. 428.

Gaiseric, at the head of 80,000 Vandals, crosses into Africa.⁹

A.D. 439.

The Vandals take Carthage.¹⁰ During the Vandalic supremacy in Africa, there were a succession of raids, revolts, and disturbances in the west.¹¹

Circa A.D. 445.

Toward the end of the reign of Theodosius II. (d. 450), the Blemmyes are again active in

¹ Priscus Panites, *Frag.* 14 in *FHG.*

² H. Fournel, *op. cit.* p. 67 and notes.

³ Philostorgius, *Eccles. Hist.* xi. 8.

⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus xxviii. 6. 2, *paullisper pacati, in geminos turbines revoluti sunt.*

⁵ *Ibid.* xxvii. 9. 1.

⁶ Cf. Synesius, *Epist.* 74, where the Bishop relates how, in a panic, Cerealis betook himself on ship-board for safety, and thence directed operations against the barbarian harriers. Cerealis' successor, John the Phrygian, was equally worthless (*ibid.* 86, 104), and it was an exception when the Cyreneans found themselves under an honest *praeses* or a *dux* who was better than a robber-chief.

⁷ D'Avezac, *L'Afrique, etc.*, p. 136, a condensation of the notices in Synesius.

⁸ Synesius, *Epist.* 122.

⁹ H. Fournel, *op. cit.* p. 76 *sqq.* and notes.

¹⁰ Procopius, *De bello Vandalico* i. 4.

¹¹ H. Fournel, *op. cit.* p. 81 *sqq.*

Egypt, and ravage the Oasis Magna. In their retreat, however, they are themselves harried by the Mazices.¹

A.D. 453.

The general Maximinus, in an expedition against the Blemmyes and Nobatae, takes from them, for the first time, hostages.²

A.D. 491.

The Mazices again raid the Pentapolis.³

A.D. 518–527.

(Reign of Justin I.) Blemmyes and Mazices plunder Egypt.⁴

A.D. 534.

Fall of the Vandals. The disturbances continue under Byzantine rule.

About this time Justinian forced Christianity on the pagan tribes in the Syrtis and at Augila. He, moreover, repaired many of the old fortresses in Marmarica and Tripolitana, or built new ones.⁵

A.D. 543.

Sergius sent as governor to Tripolitana. According to custom, the chiefs of the Leuathae come with their followers to Leptis Magna to receive from the new governor the usual presents and to go through the form of being re-invested in office. A certain Pudentius, who had had a good deal of experience of the country, recommended to Sergius that only eighty delegates of the tribesmen should be admitted to the town, while the rest of the Libyans, who had come under arms, should remain at some distance from Leptis. Sergius made the delegates fair speeches, and invited them to a banquet, although, according to Procopius, who seeks to excuse what followed, he suspected their good faith. The delegates fell to complaining of certain grievances they had suffered at the hands of the authorities; Sergius made light of their complaints, and gave the signal for retiring. At this moment one of the Leuathae caught the governor by the shoulder, wishing to be heard out; the other Libyans, not without confusion, began to crowd around the pair. At this instant a guardsman drew his sword, and cut down the chief who was detaining Sergius. Uproar ensued; the other delegates were slain on the spot, with the single exception of one who succeeded in escaping. He, when he reached the Libyan camp, inflamed the tribesmen to frenzy with his story. The Leuathae marched on the moment against Leptis, outside of which they met the Byzantine army under Sergius and Pudentius. A fierce hand-to-hand conflict ensued, but the well-armed and disciplined soldiery of Justinian cut the tribesmen to pieces. The Libyan camp was looted, the women and children taken prisoners, and at nightfall Sergius triumphantly re-entered Leptis. Pudentius fell in the battle.⁶

It is not surprising that after such treachery on the part of the Byzantines the Leuathae should embark on a career of rapine and war. Going to Byzacium, where their reassembled forces were

¹ Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 7; Coptic *Life of Schnoudi* in the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique française*, iv. fol. 53 rect.

² J. G. Milne, *op. cit.* p. 100.

⁴ Coptic *Life of Schnoudi* fol. 47 vers.; Arabic *Life*, p. 380.

⁵ Procopius, *De aedificiis* vi. 2 and *passim*.

³ D'Avezac, *op. cit.* p. 139.

⁶ Procopius, *De bello Vandalico* ii. 21 sqq.

joined by the chieftain Antalas, they marched on Carthage. On the road they met the Byzantine general Solomon, and refusing to listen to his overtures, they engaged and defeated him, he himself being taken and slain.¹ The Leuathae then laid siege to Laribus, from which they withdrew on the receipt of a heavy tribute. Sergius, the original cause of these disturbances, was then nominated successor to Solomon, and became speedily an object of hatred to every man under his orders. The Leuathae and Antalas were reinforced from the west by Stozas, with whom they ravaged the country, even taking Hadrumetum.² The land became a desert; people fled to Sicily to be safe from the Berbers. It seemed as if Africa was fated to be lost because of the treachery of Sergius, and it was not until Justinian entrusted affairs to Johannes Troglita, an experienced soldier, that matters began to mend.

A general peace of some duration was obtained *circa* 550.³

Circa A.D. 580.

Widespread uprisings throughout Africa.⁴

Aristomachus, general of Tiberius II. in Egypt, having defeated the Nubians, turns his arms successfully against the marauding Berbers west of the Nile.⁵

A.D. 616.

In the sixth year of Heraclius the Persians under Chosroes entered and subdued Egypt, and seem to have carried their arms to a point west of the Nile.⁶ The statement that they penetrated as far as Carthage, wrecking the shattered Pentapolis on the way, is unfounded.⁷

A.D. 640.

‘Amr Ibn el-‘Aṣī invades Egypt at the head of an army of Moḥammadan Arabs.

¹ Procopius, *loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.* ii. 23; Theophanes, *Chronogr.* vol. i. p. 325; Count Marcellinus, *Chronicon*, p. 54, col. 1.

³ H. Fournel, *op. cit.* p. 98 *sqq.* The victories of John Troglita form the theme of the *Ἰωάννης* of Corippus.

⁴ Theophanes, *Chronogr.* vol. i. p. 402 *sq.*

⁵ John of Nikiu, *Chronique*, p. 95. Aristomachus is there said to have subdued the “Mauretanians,” but this can only be taken to mean the Libyans west of Egypt.

⁶ Theophanes, *Chronogr.* p. 252 B, παρέλαβον οἱ Πέρσαι τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ . . . Λιβύην ἕως Αἰθιοπίας . . . ; Landolfus Sagax, *Historia miscella*, xx. 5, *totam Aegyptum et Libyam usque ad Aethiopiam*. . .

⁷ A number of writers have asserted that the army of Chosroes reached Carthage. They were misled by an erroneous lection of Χαλχηδόνας as Χαρχηδόνας. Even Gibbon committed this mistake (*Decline and Fall*, vol. v. p. 71, and note 76).

A.D. 641.

Having taken Alexandria, 'Amr marches on Barkah. He "proceeded at the head of his troops," writes el-Biladurî, "toward the Moghreb, and attacked Barkah, a city of the Pentapolis. He gave peace to its population, demanding a tribute of 3000 dinars, which they might pay by selling such of their children as they wished to dispose of."¹ . . . 'Abd Allah Ibn Şaliḥ reports on the authority of el-Leyts Ibn Şa'ad, who himself reports it from Yezîd Ibn Abî Ḥabîb, that 'Amr Ibn el-'Aşî wrote in the treaty which he gave to the Luatah Berbers, of the country of Barkah: 'you shall have the right of selling your children and your women to pay off your share of the tribute.'"² The inhabitants seem to have collected and remitted this tribute without the unwelcome aid of Arab tax-gatherers.³ 'Amr, after subduing Barkah, sent a light expedition south-westerly into the desert under the command of 'Oḳba Ibn Nafi', who later rose to such eminence as a Moslem general.⁴

A.D. 642-643.⁵

Second expedition of 'Amr Ibn el-'Aşî toward the west. 'Amr sends in advance 'Oḳba Ibn Nafi' toward Barkah and Zawîlah and the neighbouring districts, which submit. 'Amr then marches in person and raids Tripoli,⁶ which he takes, as well as the mountains of the Nufusa, which were inhabited by Christians.⁷ At this time, Arab raids became common in Tripolitana.⁸

A.D. 646.

First great incursion of the Arabs into el-Moghreb.⁹

With this invasion the history of the ancient Libyans may be said to have ended, and that of the modern Berbers to have begun. The long and exhausting succession of wars and raids, the occupations of different parts of Eastern Libya by the Egyptians, the Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, and Byzantines, the introduction of Christianity and of Islamism, all contributed to confuse and to change the ethnology in the northern and eastern zones. In Moḥammadan times the Berbers of Tripolitana and Marmarica tended to become more and more Semiticized, both in speech and in blood. The unruly spirit which the Berbers have always displayed led, as before, to various seditions and uprisings,¹⁰ but with these later struggles of a people that had lost their ethnic purity this study is not concerned. The Arab pressure from the east tended for centuries to push the Berbers of Eastern Libya toward the west, and south toward the desert. So completely Arabized is most of Eastern Libya at the present time that it

¹ El-Biladurî, *Liber expugnationis regionum*, p. 224.

² *Ibid.* p. 225. Ibn el-Aṭîr, *Chronicon*, vol. iii. p. 20, states the tribute to have been 13,000 dinars, with which Ibn 'Abd el-Ḥakam, *Futuh Miṣr.*, vol. i. p. 302, agrees.

³ Ibn 'Abd el-Ḥakam, *loc. cit.*

⁴ M. Caudel, *Les Premières Invasions arabes dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 43 sq.

⁵ Ibn el-Aṭîr, *op. cit.* iii. p. 20; Abu 'l-Maḥasin, *Annales*, p. 85; Ibn 'Abd el-Ḥakam, *loc. cit.* These writers place the date at 22 A.H. Ibn Abî 'l-Dinar, *Kitab el-Munis*, p. 23, fixes it at 23 A.H. On this divergence see H. Fournel, *op. cit.* p. 18 notes 3 and 4.

⁶ For the details Ibn el-Aṭîr, *op. cit.* iii. p. 20; Ibn 'Abd el-Ḥakam, *op. cit.* part i. p. 87.

⁷ Ibn Abî 'l-Dinar, *loc. cit.*

⁸ El-Malekî, *Riâḍ en Nofus*, fol. 2 vers. 1, 9, text cited by M. Caudel, *op. cit.* p. 48, note 3.

⁹ M. Caudel, *op. cit.* p. 49 sqq.

¹⁰ Cf. S. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, pp. 24, 31 sq., 126, etc.

is a matter for astonishment that in Wagīlah, Sīwah, and Manshīah el-Aghuzah (in Farafrāh) the old Berber language has persisted, though in the last hundred years Arabic has become more common, and is destined soon completely to supplant the native tongue.

The value of the dry and disjointed chronicle of the affairs of the Eastern Libyans which makes up the greater part of this chapter may not at first be evident, and can be appreciated only by one somewhat familiar with the later history of this people.¹ In ancient times, the history of the Libyans is one of continued protest against foreign dominion, and of failure to amalgamate successfully with their European invaders. With the Carthaginians they certainly mixed to some extent, as is testified by the very name "Libyphoenicians"; with the other colonists there was less fusion. No conspicuous result of these fusions appeared until Arabic times. Then arose the great Berber-Arab dynasties of the Atlas, and eventually the Negro-Berber-Arab Songhay Empire in the south-west. The fierce marauders of the earlier period are seen in later days to have acquired to some extent a quality which, before the advent of the Arabs, they so conspicuously lacked—stability. How much of this characteristic was due to the new faith and how much to Arab fusion it is impossible to say; but when one considers the diversity of religious opinion among Moslemic Berbers and their tendency to heretical views, one is inclined to give a good deal of weight to the second factor. In ancient times great Libyan kingdoms, like that of Juba, had existed in the west; there had been in the east great federations like those which invaded Egypt; but there were no consolidated powers such as those of the Ṣanhagah or Almoravid Dynasties of mediaeval times.¹

Fierce, predatory, impatient of foreign dominion, and incapable of civilizing themselves, the Libyans seem to have been a race without a mission—unless for the influence, not yet determined, which they may have exerted at an early period in Egypt—until, not without turmoil, they became sufficiently united with the Arabs under el-Islam to give strength and weight to the Moḥammadan dynasties of Africa and Spain.

¹ For which the reader may be referred to H. Fournel, *op. cit.*, with the continuation (vol. ii.) edited by H. de Pierrebouurg, or the convenient little synopsis of V. Piquet, *Les Civilisations de l'Afrique du Nord*.

APPENDICES

- I. ON THE "C GROUP" PEOPLE OF NUBIA.
- II. ON TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM GHEYTAH.
- III. TRADITIONAL LIBYAN ORIGINS.
- IV. BIBLICAL NOTICES.
- V. THE ANTAEUS-CRATER OF EUPHRONIUS.

APPENDIX I

ON THE "C GROUP" PEOPLE OF NUBIA

I HAVE not the intention, nor, until the final reports of the Nubian Archaeological Survey have appeared, the right, to give here a detailed description of the so-called "C Group" or "Middle Nubian" cemeteries excavated by the Khedivial Government between the First Cataract and the Second. What I intend is merely to state my belief as to the ethnological position of the original "C Group" people, by way of an Appendix to what, in the second chapter of the foregoing essay, has been said concerning the southern range of a portion of the Eastern Libyans. For this purpose I shall use the materials published *passim* in the Reports and Bulletins of the Survey, to which, without explicit citation, the reader is referred for the facts adduced in this discussion.

Isolation of "C Group."—The so-called "C Group" cemeteries of Nubia, it was early recognized, were those of a distinctly non-Egyptian people. They extend in time from about the end of the VIth Dynasty to the XVIIIth Dynasty, although the lower date is one to be stated with some reserve. The only people with whom the "C Group" folk are certainly to be connected are those of the so-called "Pan-Graves," a people whose burials occur sporadically in Egypt, as at Hu, Deyr el-Ballas, and Hizam. Despite the marked traces of negrism which the majority of the "C Group" exhibit, Dr. Reisner, recognizing the importance of the fact that these traces were most striking in the *later* burials, remarked: "I would like to suggest as a basis for future investigation that the communities which produced" the "C Group" culture "were wandering desert tribes of Nubian origin, living along the edge of the cultivation, much like the Ababdeh in Upper Egypt at the present time, and the Bedawin in Lower Egypt." In the light of the textual evidence presented *supra*, Chapter II., and of certain anthropological and archaeological details which I shall now bring forward, I believe the early suggestion of Dr. Reisner may now be accepted as fact, with the single but important change of substituting "Libyan" for "Nubian."

Physical Character of "C Group."—Since the later "Middle Nubian" crania exhibit negroid traits to a higher degree than do the earlier, it is the former rather than the latter which it is here important to consider. The final anatomical report upon these crania has not appeared; but the reader may appreciate the Mediterranean character of the less negroid skulls from the three here reproduced (Pl. XI.). The aspect of these skulls is ellipsoidal; the occiput tends to flatness; and the frontal eminence to prominence. The bridge of the nose is flattened, but the margins of the nares are usually sharp. The subnasal prognathism of the "C Group" is not of the characteristic negroid type, being, in the words of Dr. G. E. Smith, "an exaggerated form of that prognathism which is so common in the Predynastic Egyptian." Only by exception is the hair woolly or "peppercorn-like"; as a rule it is straight or wavy. The following figures from the observations of Dr. D. E. Derry may here be cited, for although they are taken from subjects between whose lives as much as a thousand years may have intervened, they serve to indicate the general nature of these crania:—

Elements.	Men.		Women.	
	No.	mm.	No.	mm.
Maximum length	123	183.0	132	176.5
Maximum breadth	117	134.0	127	130.3
Height	96	135.0	114	129.3
Cranial base	102	101.8	117	96.4
Facial base	89	99.6	106	96.1
Upper facial height	53	67.2	56	64.5
Nasal index	53	51.5	58	52.7
Cephalic index	41	72.98	42	73.51

I am not in a position to say positively that these figures and the general aspect of the skulls from which they are taken link the "C Group" with such North African crania as those from Rokniah or Biskrah,¹ but will be content merely to recall what has been said in Chapter II. in regard to the appearance of a negroid Libyan type in the Egyptian representations (cf. Figs. 3, 4), and to repeat that, broadly speaking, the "C group" skulls exhibit certain "Mediterranean" aspects. The pilous system of the "Middle Nubian" is, when not negroid, that of the *brun* Berbers.

It is a remarkable fact that the "C Group" crania have an indubitable relationship with those of Predynastic Egypt. As the proto-Berber element in the Egyptian language testifies to the early fusion of the Libyans with the other ethnic elements which made the historic Egyptian race, the affinities between the early "C Group" and Predynastic crania accord well with the theory that the "Middle Nubians" were of Libyan origin.

Archaeology of the Middle Nubians.—It was on archaeological grounds that I first sought to relate the "C Group" to the Eastern Libyans, and I here submit the chief features in their culture which tend to substantiate this theory.²

A. The *burials*, as among those Libyans who were least affected by foreign customs, were in a contracted position. The bodies normally lay on the right side with the head to the east. The knees were not drawn up under the chin, but the thighs were at right angles to the spine, the legs being so doubled at the knee that the heels touched the buttocks. The practice of contraction is too widespread to count here as positive evidence; but its absence would be a strong presumption against a Libyan origin.

B. The *earlier graves* are circular or oval, are deep, and are covered with stone slabs. The later graves are rectangular, in consequence, I believe, of the growth of the Negro element, the typical Negro graves of Late New Empire times in the Egyptian Sudan being rectangular. The late "C Group" graves are generally diamagnetic.

Around the graves, by way of superstructure, runs a

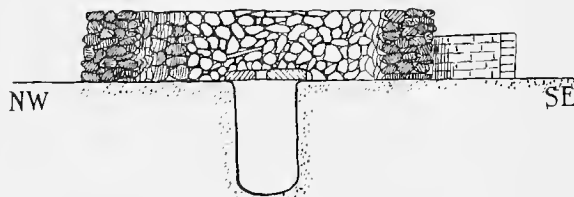


FIG. 90a.

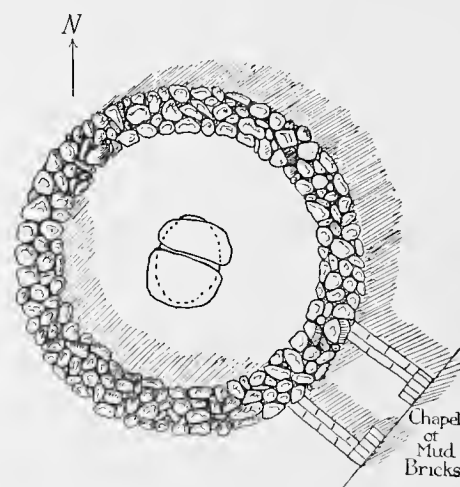


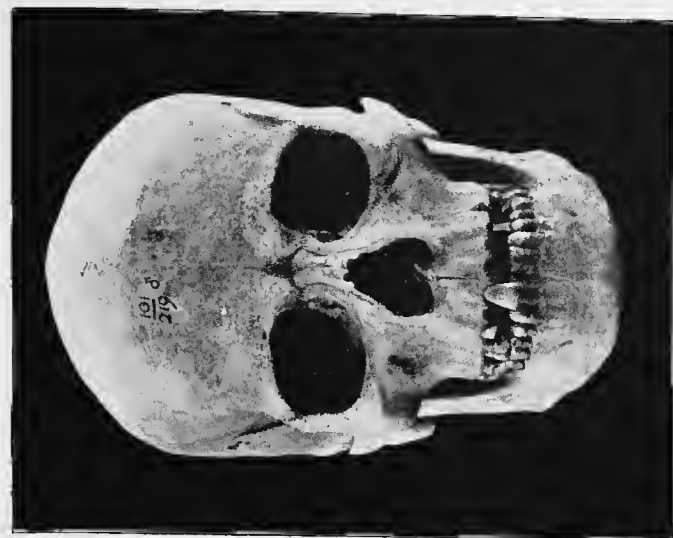
FIG. 90b.

circular wall of stones, often of considerable diameter. The space enclosed by this was filled with

¹ Cf. D. R. MacIver and A. Wilken, *Libyan Notes*, pp. 91 and 92 *sqq.*; and pls. xviii., xix.

² What immediately follows is an expansion of a letter sent by me to Dr. D. E. Derry, dated "Sebastiah, Syria, 12th August 1910."

PLATE XI.



"C-GROUP" CRANIA.

